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[For information on mythical ancestors, the founding of lineages, and further information on names, see Category 613, pp. 29-38.]

systematic excavation of the great series of royal tombs a vast store of 000
archaeological data will be forthcoming. This splendid series, the sequence [172]
of which is known in part, constitutes no doubt the most important
archaeological field in Polynesia.

For the location of places mentioned in this paper refer to Tongan 113
Place Names (25).[A]

POPULATION

CENSUS DATA

The census for the year 1921 taken by the Tongan police in the month 161
of April, lists 23,759 Tongans, 571 Caucasians, 235 half-castes, 235 individuals 162
from other Pacific islands, and 135 miscellaneous non-Caucasian foreigners.

Intermarriage of Caucasians and full-blooded Tongans is less frequent 563
to-day than formerly, although at no time was such intermarriage common.
To all appearances the Tongan population bids fair to maintain itself in [144]
strength of numbers and purity of blood indefinitely. This situation seems [671]
insured by the fact that ownership of land by foreigners is effectually pro- [423]
hibited by law.

It is the opinion of the late Reverend J. B. Watkin, formerly Presi- 161
dent of the Free Church of Tonga, and a man who could speak with authority because of his long residence in Tonga, that the population of the three main island groups of Tonga—Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau—has never exceeded 25,000; an opinion with which I have reason to concur.

The estimate of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1840, cited by Commodore Wilkes (63, vol. 3, p. 29) allows only 18,500 for the population of the whole archipelago, including the outlying Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou islands. It is possible that this is an underestimate, though it must be remembered that the country was still suffering from the internecine wars which began about the end of the eighteenth century. In Table 1, Wilkes' figures for 1840 are given with those for other years up to 1921. For 1922 no detailed figures have been obtained, but according to Stronge (52, pp. 6-7) the excess of births over deaths for that year was 359, which would make the total Tongan population more than 24,000.

ANCIENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Tradition speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from 161
one end of Tongatabu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a 162
state of affairs described as *fanongonongo tokoto* (making proclamation 203
when reclining). Some writers have inferred from this tradition that the 173
population must have been much denser than that of to-day. The area of 000

[A] /See 4: Gifford for this source -- Analyst/

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF FIGHTING MEN TO POPULATION

161
162

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Eua	122	32
Tongatabu	2742	28
Haapai	1656	28
Vavau	1600	28
Niuatoputapu	196	26
Niuafoou	266	24
All Tonga	6582	28

The only comparable material which I possess for other years is for Niuafoou Island, where in 1902 there were 334 able-bodied fighting males, who formed 28 per cent of the population.

IMMIGRATION

The Tongans have no tradition of a migration into their islands, of a 173
Havaiki homeland, or of an overrunning of their country by foreigners except 167
the coming of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended in 1865. Tradition refers to the country as already peopled, but pictures
Ahoeitu's entry as apparently peaceful. Though there is no mention of 167
armed invasion, there are many apparently authentic instances of peaceful penetration by foreigners. From Fiji there were two large influxes of people, from Samoa one, and from Rotuma and Tokelau minor accretions. This paper and other Tongan papers by me contain many references to [624]
foreign accretions to the Tongan population. Most of the first holders [644]
of the present matapule titles were foreigners. [565]

From Niue, Uvea, and Futuna there seems to be no record of immigrants in heathen times, though Christian times have seen a considerable influx of Uveans (62, p. 245). Perhaps hostilities with Niue, which are mentioned in Niuean traditions, were responsible for the absence of immigrants therefrom (55, pp. 19-21). Perhaps hostilities with Futuna may likewise have interfered with immigration from that island, though we hear of the Tui Tonga (either Takalaua or Kauulufonua I) sending a governor to Futuna as well as to Rotuma and Samoa.

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[716]

Although the Tongans have no account of invasion from Uvea, the Uveans tell of an expedition against Tonga, in which 500 Uveans sailed in the fabulously large ship *Lomipeau*, under the command of the chief Tahitala. The expedition went to Mua, Tongatabu. A battle with the Tongans took place. Though none of the Uveans returned to their native land, it is not known whether the Tongans annihilated them. This Uvean tale about the *Lomipeau* differs greatly from other versions (26, p. 67), which associate the vessel with the building achievements of the Tui Tonga Ulakimata I.

The first important accretion from Fiji was led by Tui Motuliki. Motuliki (Fijian, Moturiki) is a small island off the east coast of Viti Levu. Tradition places the arrival of Tui Motuliki in the reign of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui. Tui Motuliki settled near Mt. Talau in Vavau Island and became known as the Tui Talau. Some of his followers seem to have settled in Uiha Island, Haapai, and at Niutoua, Tongatabu, where many of the inhabitants seem to have Fijian features.

The second important influx from Fiji came from the island of Lakemba, apparently in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The occasion was the marriage of Tapuosi, the Tui Lakepa (Fijian, Lakemba), to the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Their descendants constitute the modern lineage called Fale Fisi. According to Tongan informants, modern chiefly titles in Lakemba are Tui Tupou (Fijian, Tumbou), Tui Neau, and Uluilakepa, but not Tui Lakepa. The present Uluilakepa is called Finau. Tui Neau is the ranking chief. He is son of the preceding Tui Neau.

However, the influx of Fijians has not been limited to these important movements, for there has been a constant seeping in of immigrants. A story (26, p. 101) tells of the frightening away of a party of Fijians who were in a sailing boat of the *hamatefua* type. The following is a good example of modern Fijian emigration to Tonga:

> Moses Tama, of Hihifo, Lifuka, a man of about 70 (in 1920), was born in Lakemba. At the age of 11 he was sent by his father to Tonga with the Tongan chief Paleiono of Lifuka and has been once back to Lakemba. The father of Moses was a matapule in Lakemba, but Moses is not. Finau Uluilakeba, a chief in Lakemba, is a paternal cousin (*tokoua*) of Moses and the head of Moses' lineage, for which he knows no name. Moses' only child, a daughter, now dead, was a commoner (*matafefine*). The wife of Moses is Keasi (said to be a Samoan name). She was born in Lifuka where her parents belonged. Vuetasau, the father of Moses, had been to Tonga with King George I. He and Paleiono returned to Fiji together, then Moses was born. Moses was called *tama i Paleiono*, child of Paleiono, because his father intended to give him to Paleiono to adopt. Moses called Paleiono father. Paleiono called Moses son and gave him the tract Haa Lakovaka, in Lifuka.

George Fisilau, of Okoa, Vavau group, who acts as matapule to Afu Haa Mango, is of part Fijian ancestry, a forefather hailing from Lau, as the name implies.

The principal immigration from Samoa apparently took place just before 167
the establishment of Ngata as the first Tui Kanokupolu, probably in the latter 173
half of the sixteenth century. There have been considerable influxes of Samoans both before and since. Krämer (36) cites migrations from the time of the twelfth Tui Tonga on. (See, for instance, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 468.)

Concerning immigrants from the Cook Islands, Tongan sources are silent except for some Mangaians (25, p. 154) in Christian times. Dillon (20, vol. 1, p. 271) mentions five castaways from Aitutaki.

There is said to be a considerable number of people of Rotuman descent in Tongatabu. According to the following tale the title of Maafu Tukuiaulahi was held for a time by a Rotuman and, presumably, his descendants:

> One day Maafu of Vaini dug a big hole after a rat. As he went down he saw eight rat tails. Maafu then looked up and saw a little boy at the top of the hole. He adopted the boy and named him Ikuvalu (Eight Tails). The boy was from Rotuma. After Maafu died, the boy became Maafu. This is why the descendants of Maafu are called the Kau Lotuma. The descendants of Ikuvalu are no longer Maafu, however. The present holder is of the old Maafu line.

Even Tahitians may have been absorbed into the Tongan population, for Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 313) saw at Mua, the carved head of a Tahitian vessel which had been driven ashore.

EMIGRATION

The Tongans extended their influence to other islands. They had estab- 167
lished their sovereignty in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Uvea, for tribute 173
mainly—but many of the Tongans seem to have married Samoans, and even 175
the Tui Tonga had official residences on Upolu and Savaii. Presumably 648
no Tui Tonga resided in Samoa after the expulsion of Talakaifaiki (about 1250). However, in 1616 Schouten and Lemaire (65, p. lviii) encountered in Futuna "a person bearing the title of Latoo, and by another styled Areekee, who was probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands." This person was probably the Tui Tonga's viceroy or tribute collector. As 167
late as 1824, Rotuma was still paying tribute to Tonga, for Dillon (20, vol. 173
1, p. 295) relates: 175
648
651

> On my old friend, Tuckcafinawa [Fakafanua], the high priest and chief of Mafanga, hearing mention made of Rothuma, inquired if I intended to call there: to which I replied in the affirmative. He then informed me that the priests of that island were tributary to his district, and that about three years ago he sent his eldest son with three large canoes to collect the tribute, from whence he had not since returned; that he was fearful he and his men had offended the gods and were cast away at sea, either going to or returning from Rothuma.

Modern Tongan tradition refers the origin of the name Haamoa (Samoa) to a war between Tonga and Samoa, which Tonga won. After that the name Hamoa was applied, because when asked how the war was going, the soldiers replied, "Hamoa," meaning "to kill chickens," thus derisively referring to the defeated Samoans. I regard this merely as a folk etymology. 173 648

That Niue had also come under Tongan dominion is recounted by Ella (22, p. 231), who, after referring to the Tongan defeat by the Samoans, writes:

> A similar Tongan defeat is given by the Niue Islanders, accounting for their deliverance from Tongan domination, also effected by a stratagem which issued in the destruction of the Tongans.
>
> In the Ellice and Gilbert groups there are remarkable histories of Tongan tyranny endured by those simple people. Even in Fiji the Tongan power was felt and dreaded.

A trader in the Ellice Islands, Captain Allen, informed me that the modern population of Nukufetau Island is Tongan in origin, and that Reynolds Island is Samoan. Some Ellice Island place names are Tongan, such as Nukufetau and Niutao. 167

The frequency of Tongan visits to the windward islands of Fiji and the presence of Tongan blood in the population is dwelt upon by Hocart (32).

That Tongans settled in the Cook Islands seems probable on the evidence presented by Gill (28, pp. 167, 287, 288). The inhabitants of Tikopia (Tucopia, or Barwell Island, Santa Cruz Islands) are probably the descendants of Tongan castaways, according to Rivers (51, vol. 1, pp. 298-362); and Thomson (56, p. 15) affirms that the inhabitants of Ongtong Java, are descendants of Tongans. Shipwreck is doubtless the cause of some dissemination.

THE FAMILY

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

No undoubted word for family was obtained. The word *kainga* (relatives) seems to be the nearest approach inasmuch as it is bilateral in application. Modern Tongans use the English word "family" in the form *famili,* and sometimes the Tongan word *faahinga.* The word *fale* (house) is used of the Tui Tonga's family, including all his wives and children. As do Europeans, the Tongans conceive of a family both as a small household group and as an enlarged group comprising collateral relatives both through the father and the mother. 59

The Tongan household seems anciently to have consisted of a man, his wife, and their offspring, together with any adopted children. Through polygamy the household might be considerably augmented. The establish- 592 [595]

All the sororal nieces and nephews of a man were *fahu* to him, although 604
not of equal rank. The oldest daughter of his oldest sister was the most privileged of the several *fahu* and was often designated as the great *fahu*.

The institution of *fahu* is established in the lower strata of society as 565
well as in the higher, but it reaches its most extravagant development among 604
the higher chiefs. Anciently it was not extensively practiced among commoners, for fear of punishment for imitating chiefs, and, perhaps also, for alienating goods that a chief might claim.

There seems to have been a limit to the exactions of the *fahu*. A high 604
chief said that if even the Tamaha, the *fahu* of the Tui Tonga, tried to exact things inordinately, she would be cried down. This same chief remarked that *fahu* does not actually elevate the *ilamutu* in rank, but does give him exceptional privileges. Moreover, he expressed the opinion that the sister is not actually higher in rank than the brother, but that, through the respect and affection shown her she merely appears to be higher. This chief's explanation of the origin of the institution of *fahu* attributes it to the affection of the *tuasina* (mother's brother) for his *ilamutu* and to the desire of the *tuasina* to let the people see what a fine fellow his *ilamutu* is. Therefore, if the *ilamutu* comes to the uncle's house, he tells his children to prepare food for him.

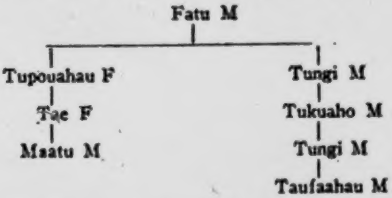
This conduct may be motivated by the factor whose operation has been set forth succinctly by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in a letter written to me on August 21, 1923:

> The behaviour pattern of mother's brother and sister's son is determined very frequently by regarding the mother's brother as a kind of male mother. (In Tonga and here in South Africa he is actually called "male mother.") Since the mother is the person from whom care and indulgence is expected, the same may also be expected from the mother's brother by his sister's son, but in an even greater measure, since they are of the same sex. Inversely the father's sister is a sort of female father, and where, as in Polynesia and Africa the attitude to the father is one of respect and obedience, it is this same attitude that the brother's son must adopt to his father's sister, but very definitely emphasized by the difference of sex. So we get licence towards the mother's brother and excessive respect towards the father's sister associated together in Polynesia and Africa, because they are both the product of the same factors, factors that only seem to be completely active in patrilineal societies. This matter of the behaviour to the uncle and aunt is of importance in relation to cross-cousin marriage. Any family objects to the loss of its members (daughters) and this resistance is shown in many different ways in different parts of the world. It is, I think, a universal factor in primitive society. But the mother's brother, since he must indulge his nephew, will more willingly part with his daughter. There are other factors involved in the cross-cousin marriage, but this, I think is an important one.

A striking example, if true, of the attachment of a man to a rela- 173
tive who was probably his sister's son is afforded by the tradition of the 643
murder of the Tui Tonga Havea I, who reigned about 1350. Havea was 604
assassinated while bathing and his body cut in two. Only the trunk was 682

recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, 173
learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died 643
a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks 604
and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." 682
His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body
complete and then buried the remains.

The *fahu* relation while not exclusively limited to the mother's brother 604
(*tuasina*) and his sister's children (*ilamutu*), may continue to subsequent 605
generations, as the following genealogical diagram indicates.



Maatu has the right of *fahu* to Tungi the elder, to Tukuaho, and to Tungi the younger. Maatu and Tungi the younger are cross-second-cousins. Tukuaho was Maatu's mother's mother's brother's son, while Tungi the elder was Maatu's mother's mother's brother. To Taufaahau Maatu is not *fahu* because Maatu stands in the relation of "father" to him.

Frequently the right of the *fahu* is even more extended, and may give 604
a chief of high rank the right to help himself to any property he wishes 622 425
in an entire district controlled by chiefs to whom he is *fahu*. For example,
all of the living descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, who was 604
assassinated in 1799, are said to be *fahu* to the chiefs and commoners of the 602
lineage Haa Ngata Motua of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. The rea- 644
son for the *fahu* relationship is that Tukuaho's mother was Lepolo, the daughter of Laakulufoohake, who was the son of Atafakahau, who in turn was the son of Kaumavae, the son of Ngata (the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngata Motua and the first Tui Kanokupolu, who held office in the first half of the seventeenth century. In other words, Tukuaho's mother was of the Haa Ngata Motua, and being "sister" to all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, her son and his descendants are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and people. Thus the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte is *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua. The principal other living *fahu* of the Haa Ngata Motua are (a) Tungi, the prince consort, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, and consequently ranks highest among the *fahu;* (b) Haamea, the son of the present Ulukalala, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, but who is of lower rank than Tungi's mother. Tungi and his mother are also *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Tupu of Vavau.

From early times it evidently had been the custom for the Tui Tonga to 643
take as his principal wife the daughter of some powerful chief; thus the 195
daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were married by a few Tui Tonga. 581
Then they drop from view and thereafter the Tui Tonga takes as his chief wife a daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, apparently thereby acknowledging the superiority of the Tui Kanokupolu over the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE MALE TUI TONGA

SEQUENCE OF THE TUI TONGA

With the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, December 175
9, 1865, the sway of the so-called "priest-kings" of Tonga came to an end. 643
No successor to Laufilitonga was appointed, but the office was absorbed by 173
the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou. The traditional founder of the dynasty was Ahoeitu, who probably came into power some time in the tenth century.

It should be borne in mind, however, that if tradition is to be relied upon the Ahoeitu dynasty of kings was preceded by an earlier dynasty (26, p. 38): "This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there [in Tonga]."

Williamson (64, vol. 1, pp. 136-137, 139) interprets Bastian (4, p. 296) as indicating six kings preceding Ahoeitu, but if my interpretation of the Tongan is correct, Bastian lists but one, namely Kohai as may be seen from the following translation of the Tongan story referred to by Williamson.

> The first land of Tonga was Ata [island] and the first plant was a *fue* with two branches, and came down Tangaloa and tore it in two and the root of the *fue* rotted, and developed an animal, and came a plover and pecked, and arose from it a pair of men who were brothers, and a [the part] of the animal was cast off by the plover, and it became Momo, which are the three that arose from the animal, and the meaning of Momo is
> The crumbs [momo] of the animal
> And the first Tui Tonga was Kohai
> The man who originated from the *fue* plant.

(See also Collocott, 8, p. 237.)

The list of Tui Tonga (dynasty of Ahoeitu), given below is regarded 175
by me as correct. It is the result of the careful comparison of material from 173
six sources: (a) A list obtained from Tongavalevale and recorded by 643
Father Francis Xavier Reiter (33, vol. 5, pp. 45, 46), referred to as the 127
Catholic Mission list; (b) A manuscript written by Anthony Uhatafe of Mua, Tongatabu, a member of a family which furnished ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga; (c) A list published by the late King George II (35, vol. 1, No. 1, [5], p. 8); (d) A list recorded by J. E. Moulton (34)

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and reproduced by Tregear (58, p. 670); (e) A list given to Shirley W. 175
Baker by King George I Tupou in 1862, and made available by Miss Beat- 643
rice Shirley Baker; (f) A partial list in the genealogical records in the 173
possession of the present ruler of Tonga, Queen Charlotte Tupou, recorded [127]
by the Tamaha Amelia in 1844.

Bastian (4, p. 296) gives a list of the Tui Tonga which ends with Telea and otherwise differs radically from all other lists. Williamson suggests that Bastian received his list from Shirley W. Baker, but the list given me by Miss Baker is quite unlike that published by Bastian. With these doubts in mind I have refrained from attempting a correlation.

LIST OF THE TUI TONGA, DYNASTY OF AHOEITU

[551]

1 Ahoeitu. About 950
2 Lolofakangalo
3 Fangaonecone
4 Lihau
5 Kofutu
6 Kaloa
7 Mauhau
8 Apuanea
9 Afulunga
10 Momo
11 Tuitatui. About 1200.
12 Talatama
13 Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou
14 Talaihaapepe
15 Talakaifaiki. About 1250.
16 Talafapite
17 Tui Tonga Maakatoe
18 Tui Tonga Puipui
19 Havea I
20 Tatafueikimeimua
21 Lomiaetupua
22 Havea II
23 Takalaua. About 1450.
24 Kauulufonua I. About 1470.
25 Vakafuhu
26 Puipuifatu
27 Kauulufonua II
28 Tapuosi
29 Uluakimata I (Telea)
30 Fatafehi
31 Kauulufonua III. King in 1643.
32 Uluakimata II
33 Tui Pulotu I
34 Fakanaanaa
35 Tui Pulotu II
36 Pau. King in 1770. Died about 1784.
37 Maulupekotofa. Died in 1806.
38 Fuanunuiava. Died in 1810.
39 Laufilitonga. Died in 1865.

From Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, to Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, was 35 generations. The succession from father to son seems to have been unbroken except at three points. Talatama, the twelfth Tui Tonga, seems to have had no son and was consequently succeeded by his brother Talaihaapepe, although only after the interposition of the dummy called Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou. Thus Tui Tonga 13 and 14 are to be reckoned as belonging to the same generation as Tui Tonga 12. Tui Tonga 26 and Tui Tonga 27 are both sons of Tui Tonga 24, possibly 25 is also. Pau, Tui Tonga 36, was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa probably during the minority of his son Fuanunuiava.

I have accepted the evidence of the Tamaha's genealogical records and 175
listed the thirty-first king as Kauulufonua III, instead of Tapuosi II as given 643
in the Catholic Mission and the Uhatafe lists. Tapuosi II probably was not 173
the Tui Tonga but the Fijian Tui Lakepa, who married the Female Tui 127

Tonga Sinaitakala I, the eldest sister of Fatafehi, the thirtieth king. Aside 175
from this the accepted list coincides with the Catholic Mission list. The 643
Uhatafe list differs from all of the others in placing Maulupekotofa, the 173
thirty-seventh king, in advance of Pau, the thirty-sixth king who ruled at 127
the time of Cook's visits. Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava are doubtless the two Tui Tonga mentioned by Mariner, Maulupekotofa dying in 1806 just before Mariner's arrival, Fuanunuiava in 1810. Mariner estimated Fuanunuiava as about forty years of age.

The George II list is identical with the Catholic Mission list, except that it unites Fatafehi (number 30) with Tapuosi II of the Catholic Mission and Uhatafe lists, thus reducing the total number of kings to 38. In the Moulton list kings 17, 18, 19 of the accepted list are united as number 17 and kings 20, 21, 22 are united as number 18. The Baker list supports the Moulton list. Uhatafe and George II lists support the Catholic Mission list, which I have followed in accepting 39 as the number of kings, instead of 34 and 32, as given by Moulton and Baker. The Tamaha list is accepted for the succession of the last 11 Tui Tonga. Partial lists in the possession of the Tui Haa Teiho, of the widow of the chief Tafolo, and of Tupoumalohi strengthen the argument for the accepted list. A list published by Collocott (13, p. 166) follows the succession as given by George II.

As to the length of the period covered by the dynasty of Ahoeitu, I con- 175
cur in general with Collocott (13, pp. 167-169). It seems likely that Ahoeitu, 173
the legendary founder of the dynasty, began reigning about 950 A. D. 643
Tuitatui, the eleventh Tui Tonga and reputed builder of the great trilithon at Tongatabu, probably reigned about 1200. Samoan references to Talakaifaiki, the fifteenth Tui Tonga, seem to place his reign about 1250. Takalaua, the twenty-third Tui Tonga, probably held sway about 1450. Thomson (54, p. 306) gives 1535 as the probable date for Takalaua, but he makes Kauulufonua I the fourth Tui Tonga instead of the seventh before the king (probably Kauulufonua III) who ruled in Tasman's time. Therefore, I regard Collocott's date of 1470 for Kauulufonua I nearer the truth than Thomson's figure of 1535.

Tasman, who visited Tongatabu in 1643, mentions an elderly chief, but that he was the Tui Tonga and not the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu is not certain. The Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit was probably Kauulufonua III and not Fatafehi as Collocott suggests (13, p. 168), for according to tradition at the time of Cook's visit to Tonga, Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga, was the fifth ruler after the king who reigned at the time of Tasman's visit. Pau was adjudged by Cook in 1777 to be about forty years of age. The three remaining kings, Maulupekotofa, Fuanunuiava, and Laufilitonga, were all known to Europeans; especially Laufilitonga, who died in 1865.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga listed on page 50: 173 175 643

1. Ahoeitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoeitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoeitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Maliepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afulunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoeitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king [581] prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was [581] selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the [276] tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain.

Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangone, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*hau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*hau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He [349] is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself.

Tuitatui's predilection for the fair sex is illustrated in two tales (26, pp. 46-48), one 173
concerning incest with his sister Latutama, the other with winning the maiden Nua. 175
The recovery of the buried carapace of the famous turtle Sangone was accomplished
by Fasiapule, the king's maternal half brother (op. cit., pp. 49-54). Prince Tungi 643
possesses a piece of turtle-shell fishhook, reputed to be made from this carapace. Tuitatui is said to have died in the mountainous island of Eua, whence Fasiapule, his faithful half brother, transported his body to Tongatabu for burial (op. cit., p. 45). An Eua informant, Fakatene, said that the king died at Tuutuu, near Kolomaile.

One version of the story about the Tongan hero Muni states, perhaps wrongly, that Muni's mother embarked on one of the Tuitatui's vessels on the fatal voyage during which she fell a victim to the cannibal oven. (See 26, p. 120.)

Tuitatui is said to mean "king who strikes the knee," referring to the Tui Tonga's custom of hitting with a long stick the knees of his matapule when they came too
close. Tuitatui is reputed to have thus established the custom of keeping the matapule [644]
at a respectable distance on ceremonial occasions. His reason for this practice is said to have been the fear of assassination, because several [*sic.*] Tui Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matapule. The Falefa matapule who attended the Tui Tonga were induced by scheming great chiefs to murder them, in order that some relative of the schemers might ascend the throne. As the Falefa were foreigners (*muli*) they were not subject to the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for touching the Tui Tonga's person. (Actually, there is no tradition of the murder of any king before the nineteenth Tui Tonga.)

12. Talatama. The twelfth king seems to have been the son of Tuitatui who with his [349]
brother Talaihaapepe is said to have assisted in the erection of the great trilithon (26, pp. 30, 46). One native account says that the trilithon was made by Tuitatui's sons, Uanga (Talatama?) and Afulunga (Talaihaapepe?). While they were constructing it, Tuitatui died. After their father's death Talatama and his brother Talaihaapepe moved the capital to Lapaha where there was sheltered anchorage for their two favorite vessels (26, pp. 30, 46). Their sister Fatafehi, the Female Tui Tonga, by her silence gave consent to the removal. Another version, however, makes her the instigator of the move: Sometime after the completion of the trilithon, Fatafehi said to the new king, "Let us move from this locality, for I am tired of the noise of the surf on the rocks." So they moved and Fatafehi said, "Goodbye noisy rocks (Utulongoaa)," hence the name of the place to-day.

Concerning the reign of Talatama, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468 says: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass eine Verbindung mit dem 'Ali'atama in Manu'a besteht, welcher vielmehr als Karika in Rarotonga bekannt ist."

The royal residence was then erected at Lapaha. There was constructed the royal [764]
tomb called Langi Leka. (See also 26, p. 49.) It was the first of the great series of royal tombs to be built at Mua. Some generations later the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I was buried there.

13. Tuitonga Nui Tamatou. Tui Tonga Talatama lacked a male heir, apparently for the first time in the history of the dynasty. Talaihaapepe did not directly succeed his brother on the throne. To meet this situation a fictitious king (Tuitonga Nui Tamatou), represented by a dummy of *tou* wood, was provided and declared to be the son of Talatama and father of Talaihaapepe (26, p. 30). McKern, who excavated the terraced tomb reputed to be the burial place of the wooden dummy, found no trace of human bones. The dummy would naturally have rotted away long since.

Krämer writes (36, vol. 1, p. 468):

"Um diese Zeit heiratete die Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Laufafa e Toga den Tupa'imatuna, den Sohn des Lealali (p. 84 gen 13) aus deren Ehe viele Savai'i-Familien sich herleiten. Sie wird als eine Tochter des Tuitogamanaia und der Nafanua ausgegeben (III. b. 9. gen 11 p. 96). Von ihm und Lautivunia siehe die Geschichte V. c. 4 und IV. C. c. 1. Nach Fraser No. 5 soll der Sohn des Lautivunia den Bruder seines Vaters totgeschlagen haben und selbst Tuitoga geworden sein."

My material throws no light upon the identity of the Tui Tonga Manaia, of Nafanua, of Laufafa, or of Lautivunia. Possibly Manaia is a nickname for Talaihaapepe. Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 94) Krämer speaks of a Tui Tonga Manaia as the brother of Tui Tonga Fasiautele (Kauulufonua I). If he is the same individual, there is a big discrepancy in time in the two attributions. Lautivunia is said to have been the brother of a Tui Tonga (op. cit., p. 344). The name of the Tui Tonga slain by Lautivunia's son is not known. Possibly it was Havea I, who, however, appears to have reigned somewhat later. If Havea I was the king, it seems likely that Tatafueikimeimua was his nephew, slayer, and successor. 173 175 643

14. Talaihaapepe. The brother of Talatama, twelfth Tui Tonga.

15. Talakaifaiki. According to Samoan tradition, Talakaifaiki was the temporary ruler of Samoa and resided at Safotu, Savaii (36, vol. 1, p. 61). He was expelled by the chiefs Tuna and Fata of the Malietoa line (22). He reigned about 1250 A. D. Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"Der Tuitoga Tala'aifei'i, der Samoa unterjochte und durch Tuna und Fata (gen 14) vertrieben wurde (IV. B. c. 2). Nach Stuebel p. 86 wäre er der Vater des Poluleuligaga (siehe gen. 15, p. 246)."

The Tongan tale (26, pp. 45-54) about the turtle Sangone seems to indicate that already the Tongan grip on Samoa was strong in the days of the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga. Whether the relations recorded in this tale were the result of conquest or of peaceful penetration is not clear (26, pp. 45, 54). Presumably Talakaifaiki was the last of a series of rulers who had long held Samoa in vassalage. [648]

16. Talafapite.

17-19. Tui Tonga Maakatoe, Tui Tonga Puipui, Havea I. Concerning the time of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and (or) nineteenth Tui Tonga, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) writes:

"Um diese Zeit wird ein Tuitoga Tuionu'ulava genannt, dessen Töchter Pate und Alainuanua nach Samoa heirateten (IV. B. b. 2. p. 246), letztere den Malietoafaigā Uilamatutū (gen 15). Ein Bruder dieser beiden hat den weiter unten des öfteren vorkommenden Namen Ulufanua (tele), der den Poluleuligaga zeugte."

The name Tui Onukulava does not occur in any Tui Tonga list with which I am familiar. It does occur much later as the name of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

Havea I. is the first identifiable king reputed to have met his death at the hands of an assassin.

20-23. Tatafueikimeimua is known chiefly through the tale of his unsuccessful wooing of a beautiful Samoan woman named Hina (26, pp. 55-60). His brother, Nganatatafu, figures in the tale as the king's successful rival. Hina bestowed upon Nganatatafu two bonitos, so that the coming of this fish to Tongan waters is attributed to Tatafueikimeimua's reign. Nganatatafu is possibly the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngana, a division of the Haa Fale Fisi, which to-day has its stronghold in Haano Island, Haapai, the home island of Nganatatafu. Suggesting somewhat the interference of Nganatatafu in the love affairs of his brother, is the adventure of Lautivunia, brother of a presumably earlier Tui Tonga. Lautivunia scaled the fence on the island where the Tui Tonga kept virgins destined for his harem. Two of the girls became pregnant and Lautivunia committed suicide when summoned to appear before his brother (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348).

Krämer (op. cit., p. 468), referring to the time of Tatafueikimeimua, Lomiaetupua, and (or) Havea II., says: "Um diese Zeit heiratete ein Tuitoga die Tochter des Manu'a in Safata, aus deren Nachkommen die Tuiaana—und Malietoa-Linie stammt (siehe IV, B. b. 6. p. 253)."

Havea II, like Havea I, met death at an assassin's hands. He was shot through the head by Tuluvota, a Fijian.

23. Takalaua. Tui Tonga Takalaua, who reigned about 1450 A. D., was murdered while eating food on the island of Mataaho in the lagoon at Tongatabu. His murderers are stated (26, pp. 32, 60, 65) to have been Tongans. Takalaua's sons cap-

tured the assassins in Uvea (Wallis Island) after prolonged pursuit and much fighting 173
in Tongatabu, Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, Niue (55, p. 21), Samoa, 175
Futuna, Fiji, and lastly Uvea. Another and somewhat garbled version given me by
Mafifakapotu makes Futuna the place of capture of the assassins, and Fevanga and 643
Fefafa their names instead of Tamosia and Malofafa. Undoubtedly this is a mistake, for the names Fevanga and Fefafa are associated with the reign of Momo and the origin of kava. Mafifakapotu's version follows:

"Kauulufonuafekai and Moungamotua made war on Uvea. They started war because two men killed their father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua. These two men fled to Haapai. Their names were Fevanga and Fefafa. They were driven from Haapai by the two brothers and their soldiers, thence to Vavau, to Niuatoputapu, to Niuafoou, to Samoa, to Uvea, to Futuna. In Futuna the Tui Tonga (Kauulufonuafekai) caught them. . . . . In Futuna the Tui Tonga's troops started to attack the Futunans. They, however, at once brought the murderers to the Tui Tonga. He thanked them and said that they might have a present—that thenceforth all Tongan boats that came to Futuna were theirs. The two murderers were taken to Tonga and executed. The Tui Tonga and his brother buried their father upon their return. After their father was buried, Moungamotua was made temporal lord, because some of the Tui Tonga ruled only a day or two and were assassinated. Fonuamotu is the name of the residence of Moungamotua. Jioeli Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's heir, now lives there."

As Takalaua's body was not buried until the execution of the assassins, it seems [764]
likely that it was mummified, probably after the Samoan fashion. That such preservation of bodies was occasionally resorted to in Tonga is attested by other evidence.

Takalaua's marriage to the beautiful Vae, the foundling of Ata Island near Tongatabu, has been recorded in several traditions (26, pp. 31, 60, 62; 54, pp. 294-304). So smitten was his majesty with her charms that he accidentally struck his face with a drumstick which he was wielding when he first saw her.

A brief and hitherto unpublished account of Takalaua and Vae was supplied by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan papers of her father, Dr. Shirley W. Baker. This account which gives Vae's full name as Vaelaveana, states that she was a woman from Ata and the child of a dove (*sic.*), and that she bore the following children to Takalaua: Kauulufonuafekai (son), Moungamotua (son), Latutoevave (son), Melineatoa (daughter), and Lotau (son). Takalaua was assassinated while eating food at Mataaho, by two men, Tamosia and Malofafa from Haatafale, who smelt of the sorcery basket. His children came sailing from Nuku. They kissed the feet of Takalaua and left him unburied, while they made war on Tongatabu and conquered it. But the two assassins fled to Eua, then to Haapai, Vavau, Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Futuna (where Kauulufonuafekai was wounded), and lastly Uvea. Kauulufonuafekai conquered all of these islands. At Uvea the assassins were caught and killed. All of the conquered islands came under the rule of the Tui Tonga.

24. Kauulufonua I. Kauulufonua I. received the additional appellation *fekai* (savage, cruel), because of his drastic punishment of his father's assassins. He succeeded his father Takalaua only after the long period spent in running down the murderers. The Tongan tale of Kauulufonua's search for the assassins received striking corroboration from a legend in Futuna Island, which tells of a Tongan invasion and of the Tongan leader, who, when wounded, shouted, "The gods are fools!" (54, p. 304, footnote). The Tongan versions (26, p. 32) state that Kauulufonua planned before the battle to determine by a test whether his prowess was his alone or whether he was assisted by a god. He planned to defend only his front in the forthcoming battle and to leave his back to the supposed divine protector. He was wounded in the back.

Following Kauulufonua's conquest of Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea, viceroys were sent to these several groups (26, pp. 62, 67). A Catholic Mission account refers to the Tui Tonga as ruler of Uvea as late as 1797.

Kauulufonua made a radical innovation in government by delegating his temporal authority to his younger brother who was given the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, Lord of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties 173 probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The 175 Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave 643 him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligā von Fagaloa (flp.). Er heiratete auch die Popoai und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavi'i, Togialelei und Puipuifatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitogā."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipuifatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipuifatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipuifatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiva'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togialelei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipuifatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuooi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulua'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa-und Tuiatua-linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufeia should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that 595 his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tonga- 764 tabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in 505 Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

Lomipeau was made into a kava bowl, a part of which was taken in 1918 by a 173
Catholic priest to Uvea, because there the *Lomipeau* was built. The finest terraced 175
stone tomb at Lapaha, Tongatabu, the Paepae o Telea, is the putative resting place 643
of this ruler. According to a modern informant, Telea met death by drowning at sea.

The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott supplied me with the following account of [505]
Telea's birth:

"There was a woman pregnant to the Tui Tonga [Tapuosi], and afterwards another woman, Vaenopo, the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. The gods caused Vaenopo to bring forth first, although her conception was later than that of the other woman. Her child was a boy named Telea, who became the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, whose royal tomb is in Lapaha and is called Paepae o Telea."

30. Fatafehi. Telea was followed on the throne by his son Fatafehi and his daughter the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Both were the offspring of a woman named Mataukipa, one of Telea's three principal wives. (For an interesting anecdote concerning the relations of these three wives, see 26, p. 36.)

31. Kauulufonua III. The son of Fatafehi, Kauulufonua III, was probably the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643.

32. Uluakimata II. King Uluakimata II had two noted sons, Tui Pulotu I (in Langi Tuofefafa), who became Tui Tonga, and Tokemoana, who was made Tui Haa Uluakimata (Lord of the Lineage of Uluakimata)—an appointment apparently patterned after that of the Tui Haa Takalaua in the reign of Kauulufonua I. The office appears to have languished; the lineage (*haa*) is not among those of modern Tonga.

33. Tui Pulotu I. Tui Pulotu I was buried in the royal tomb called Langi Tuofefafa. His body is said to be buried face downward with his brother Tokemoana, lying face downward on top of him.

34. Fakanaanaa. It is related that Fakanaanaa was the chief who was tattooed with a fruit at Moungaone Island, Haapai, and who when notified by the Falefa (the four ministers of the Tui Tonga) of his prospective elevation to the kingship, was at Ofolanga Island, Haapai. His mother was the daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone and Ofolanga islands—which probably accounts for his presence at Ofolanga.

35. Tui Pulotu II. After Fakanaanaa came his son Tui Pulotu II.

36. Pau. King Pau or Poulaho was ruling when Cook (1773) and Maurelle (1781) visited Tonga. He died about 1784.

37. Maulupekotofa. Pau was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa who died in 1806 during the troublous period of civil wars which began in 1799 (37).

38. Fuanunuiava. Pau's son Fuanunuiava succeeded to the throne shortly after his uncle's death but reigned only until 1810 when he died (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453).

39. Laufilitonga. The son of Fuanunuiava, Laufilitonga, who was destined to become the thirty-ninth and last ruler of the line, did not assume office until 1827 (39, p. 94).

Besides Cook's vigorous portrayal of Pau, Vason and Mariner have left personal reminiscences of their acquaintance with Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 133) gives an account of the marriage of Fuanunuiava (then about 40 years of age) to Ulukalala's daughter (presumably Popua), aged eighteen.

That the matter of succession after Pau is involved in some obscurity is shown by the conflicting accounts of Labillardière and Wilson, both eighteenth century visitors. The genealogies which I obtained seem to make it clear that Pau was followed by his brother Maulupekotofa and then by his son, Fuanunuiava. According to Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 170),

"When Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] died, he left a son very young, named Futtafaihe [Fuanunuiava]: the King's brother Futtafaihe, [presumably Maulupekotofa], then took the reins of government, but he died shortly after, and the sovereignty passed to Tineh, his eldest sister [presumably the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala IV., the eldest sister of Fuanunuiava, or else the Female Tui Tonga Nanasipauu, the sister of Maulupekotofa, but whose name, however, would hardly be rendered Tinch]. 173

If Maulupekotofa died before 1793, who then was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner arrived? 175 No list mentions any Tui Tonga between Pau and his son Fuanunuiava except Maulupekotofa, who was Pau's brother. 643 Wilson (66, p. liii) says that "Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafaihe [presumably Fuanunuiava] succeeded him in the sovereignty". This contradicts Labillardière's statement quoted just above. Obviously one is wrong. Perhaps both are wrong. It seems to me that we are justified in believing that Maulupekotofa came to the throne after Pau's death about 1784 and reigned until 1806. At the time of Labillardière's visit he may have been away in Vavau. On the other hand, Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, makes Fuanunuiava the Tui Tonga of 1793."

Vason (60, p. 77) writes as follows concerning the "Tui Tonga" of 1798:

"Amongst our visitors was Duatonga [Tui Tonga], or Futtafaihe [Fatafehi], who, next to Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho [Pau], a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother [Tupoumoheofo] lost the sovereignty.

"Toogahowe [Tukuaho], or Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], who was a great warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe [Mumui] with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed."

Vason's reference to the "Tui Tonga" of his time (1798) seems to indicate that the position of heir-apparent of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava had caused him to be treated with the same respect as his uncle Maulupekotofa, who must still have been reigning as he, presumably, was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner's arrival in Tonga in 1806. Fuanunuiava must have been thirty-one years old in 1798. Several points in Vason's statements require comment. The Fatafehi he refers to as the son of Pau could not be Maulupekotofa, because he was Pau's brother. The reference to Fatafehi's (Fuanunuiava's) mother losing the sovereignty evidently has to do with her failure to maintain herself as Tui Kanokupolu (see page 88) rather than to any attempt to hold the position of her deceased husband the Tui Tonga Pau. She is listed on page 86 as the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu, an office which she held but a short time, as she was ejected by force of arms by her cousin (her father's brother's son) Tukuaho, who then proceeded to establish his father Mumui as Tui Kanokupolu. With Mumui's death in 1797 Tukuaho became Tui Kanokupolu.

Finally, Anthony Uhatafe, bearer of the matapule title of Uhatafe, informed me that tradition reports estrangement of Pau and his son, because Fuanunuiava was "called king when born" (*fuaaihau*). For this reason Pau refused to confide the ancient lore to him.

The present line of rulers on the Tongan throne really holds the position of the Tui Tonga, modified of course by European innovations. 643 [178] Although the father-son succession of Tui Tonga of the Ahoeitu dynasty ended with Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth of the line, the office was not really abolished, but was bestowed upon the reigning Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou (also known as Taufaahau and Maeakafa). The bestowal of the royal honors took place after the death of Laufilitonga, at Vavau, where the principal chiefs of Tonga assembled and proclaimed George I Tupou the next Tui Tonga, vesting him with all of the dignities of the office, such as the Tui Tonga's peculiar kava ceremonial, the ceremonies connected with his food, and the special words applied to him. Thus it is quite legitimate to reckon George I Tupou as the fortieth Tui Tonga, George II Tupou

most powerful chiefs in his domain. Marriages with daughters of Samoan 644
chiefs were popular, too, and Krämer gives many examples. The daughters 581
of great chiefs who became great royal wives can hardly be designated as 643
queens in the European sense. The real queen in Tonga was the sister of [648]
the Tui Tonga, the Female Tui Tonga.

As to the exact etymology of the term *moheofo* I am uncertain: *mohe* 644
means "sleep, cohabit"; *ofo* means "surprise, marvel, wonder," also "to revive afresh, as any herb that appeared dead." Collocott obtained two meanings for *moheofo*: "to sit and give luck to a fishing expedition," "to take girls to a great chief." He speaks of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, as having been sent to *moheofo* from the Hihifo District, Tongatabu.

The following are the great royal wives and mothers of succeeding 644
Tui Tonga: 643
551

TUI TONGA	ROYAL WIFE	HER SON THE TUI TONGA
10. Momo	Nua, daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea	11. Tuitatui
23. Takalaua	Vaelaveamata, of Ata Island	24. Kauulufonua I
24. Kauulufonua I	Taufaitoa, a Samoan	26. Puipuifatu
24. Kauulufonua I	Vainuulasi, a Samoan	27. Kauulufonua II
28. Tapuosi	Vaenopo, daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. Bastian [4, p. 297] says Vaenopo was the daughter of Ahomee.) The Tamaha's genealogy says Vaetapu, the daughter of Ahomee.	29. Uluakimata I
29. Uluakimata I	Mataukipa, daughter of Kauulufonuahuo	30. Fatafehi
30. Fatafehi	Kaloafutonga, daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata	31. Kauulufonua III
31. Kauulufonua III	Takala, daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili	32. Uluakimata II
32. Uluakimata II	Toa, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea	33. Tui Pulotu I
33. Tui Pulotu I	Manuia, daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone Island.	34. Fakanaanaa
34. Fakanaanaa	Tongotea, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea	35. Tui Pulotu II
35. Tui Pulotu II	Laumanukilupe, daughter of Tupoutoa (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea)	36. Pau
35. Tui Pulotu II	Anaukihesina, daughter of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga	37. Maulupekotofa
36. Pau	Tupoumoheoto, daughter of the seventh Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, and herself twelfth Tui Kanokupolu.	38. Fuanunuiava
38. Fuanunuiava	Tupouveiongo, daughter of the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu Mumui	39. Laufilitonga
39. Laufilitonga	Halaevalumataaho, daughter of the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa	

The mother of No. 29 was the daughter of a man who was, so far as known, of 644
no importance in Tongan affairs—the younger brother of the chief Ahomee. Similarly 643
traditional history gives us no indication of the position of the mother's father of king 581
173
175

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great
royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the 644
Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to 643
Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Loka- 581
mana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), [551]
Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daughter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly 595
espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or 644
concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, 643
a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death
of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the [574]
calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together

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30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses 644
of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of 643
the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu);
king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter 581
of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of 173
the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai. 175
Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of Cook's time.

Pea ne toki ave ae kau houeiki oe otufonua, ko Matauvave ki Haapai; pea ave a . . . . ki Vavau.	Then he [Loau presumably] allotted the chiefs to the different islands, Matauvave to Haapai, and sent . . . . to Vavau. 643 634 [539]

The series of appointments by Kauulufonua I (26, p. 62) differ somewhat from those credited above to Takalaua, and may actually be the corrections by Loau. After mentioning Moungamotua, the account says:

> Takalaua, a son of the murdered Tui Tonga Takalaua, was made governor of Eua. Haveatuli and Niutongi (or Nuitongo) were sent to Vavau to rule, while Kolomoeuto and Matauvave were made governors of Haapai. Talapalo was appointed governor of Niuatoputapu, Makauka, and Hakavalu of Niuafoou, and Elili of Uvea.

Still another version (op. cit., p. 67) mentions Fotofili as the oldest son of Kauulufonua I, and as being sent by him to Niuafoou as governor. This seems to be an error, as the Fotofili line in Niuafoou began much later.

The governor of Eua late in the eighteenth century bore the title of Tui Haa Puipuifatu, that is, Lord of the Lineage of Puipuifatu, presumably the twenty-sixth Tui Tonga, Puipuifatu. Tukuaho was appointed to this office by his father, the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui, in the last decade or two before 1800. This title of the governor of Eua would appear to confirm the approximate date of the above appointments, for Puipuifatu was the son of Kauulufonua I.

One of the changes instituted by Loau, the chief of the Haamea District, Tongatabu, namely, the sending of a new governor or steward, Matauvave, to Haapai, is elsewhere attributed to the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I. (See below.) It is possible that Tungi's account has substituted the name of Loau, so famous in Tongan traditions for that of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I. On the other hand, it is possible that the line of chiefs with the title Loau continued as lords of Haamea (Tui Haamea) as late as 1470. Another Loau is definitely connected in tradition with the tenth king, Momo, who probably reigned before 1200. There was a Tui Haamea recognized in the seventeenth century, but his name was Aokatoa. Whether the alterations of Takalaua's arrangements were made by Loau or Kauulufonua I is perhaps of no great moment. The point of greater interest is that they were apparently made after the period of turmoil and warfare which succeeded the assassination of the king Takalaua.

The following somewhat confused account by the present Matauvave, an old man of Lifuka Island, Haapai, tells of the duties of the Tui Tonga's steward, Matauvave, in the Haapai group:

> According to tradition, the first Matauvave was appointed by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I in the Fifteenth Century. The narrator claims descent from the first Matauvave whose title he bears, although no duties or functions now attach to it. 643 634 173

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official 643
named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva 634
Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) 173
he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose
his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going [201]
to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the
afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was 634
to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth 173
to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would 466
be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work
was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people 223
dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of 349
the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The
third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons 173
were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive 103
pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and
Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave
said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only
seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger
than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with
pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons 223
would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's 173
sia and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died
there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the
name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that [349]
the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been
erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga [825]
in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like
a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, 764
is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred 634
being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said
to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their
heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as [134]
a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. 634
All Haapai furnished laborers for this work. 173

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in
Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from
the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma.
All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low [491]
tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He
was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tamatuiumee [776]
was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, 634
it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works 173
for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy. 643

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, 643
Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in 644
Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele
embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it
was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities
called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided,
the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth 361
and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the 643
twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of 175
the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga
are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting
the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned,
afiu," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places 644
where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of 342
such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could
be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became 644
sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, 342
and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this 758
house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*,
sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island 643
of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, 175
nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as 484
fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on
Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa 643
where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. 648
He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and 175
troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga 484
before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand [584]
of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known [721]
to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan
domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to
various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La- 535
billardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate chil- 643
dren that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, mar- [173]
ried Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

Special burial places for the umbilical cords of children of the Tui Tonga seem to have been made, as the following example indicates: 644 844

Pito o Papuni (literally, Umbilical Cord of Papuni) is a small mound on Fofoa Island, Vavau group, at the eastern point close to Hunga Island. Papuni was said to have been a Tui Tonga's son. The name of the mound indicates that it is the resting place of his umbilical cord rather than his body; in other words that it is a mound connected with his birth rather than his death.

A small mound of the same type is located at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, Tongatabu, and contains the umbilical cord of Mafitoutai, a female.

THE FEMALE TUI TONGA

The Female Tui Tonga (Tui Tonga Fefine) was usually the oldest sister of the male Tui Tonga, and if she died the next oldest. She was appointed only after the installation of the male Tui Tonga who is said to have directed the choice. However, Sinaitakala IV seems to be an exception. The Female Tui Tonga remained in office until death, even after her brother's death and during the reign of her brother's son. She ranked her brother or her brother's son. 644

The long period between the Female Tui Tonga Fatafehi and Sinaitakala I listed below, arouses the suspicion that, like the Tamaha, the office may be of late creation and that the attribution of a Female Tui Tonga to the times of Tuitatui (about 1200 A. D.) and Talaihaapepe is a modern fiction based on recent Tongan practice (26, pp. 29, 46, 48, 49.) [114]

Brown (6, p. 453), quoting Fison, writes of a Female Tui Tonga holding office in 1890, evidently referring to the person who would have held the office had it been continued. An aged Tongan informant interviewed in 1920 had seen two Tui Tonga, as he expressed it. Actually he had seen a male Tui Tonga (Laufilitonga), also a Female Tui Tonga (probably Fatafehihaapai) who had died during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou 1826-1845.

At Lapaha (Mua), Tongatabu, Takuilau, the residence of the Female Tui Tonga, was close to that of the male Tui Tonga at the site of the present convent. The scant list of Female Tui Tonga is presented below together with the names of the brothers who were Tui Tonga. The King numbers in parentheses indicate the sequence in the dynasty:

Latutama, sister of Tuitatui (11) 643
Fatafehi, sister of Talaatama (12) and Talaihaapepe (14). Buried in Langi Heketa, near Niutoua, Tongatabu. 644
Sinaitakala I, sister of Fatafehi (30). Buried in Langi Leka, Lapaha, Tongatabu. 173
Ekutongapipiki, sister of Kauulufonua III (31). 551
Sinaitakala II, sister of Tui Pulotu I (33). Buried in Langi Lotunofo, Lapaha, Tongatabu.
Sinaitakala III, sister of Tui Pulotu II (35). Buried in Langi Fanakavakilangi Lapaha, Tongatabu.

Siumafuauta, sister of Pau (36). Buried in Siamafuauta, near Maufanga, Tongatabu. 643

Nanasipauu, sister of Maulupekotofa (37). Buried in Langi Olovehi, Lifuka Island. 644

Sinaitakala IV, sister of Fuanunuiava (38). Buried in Langi Fekitetele, Lapaha, Tongatabu. Sinaitakala IV is evidently the Tineh of 1793 portrayed by Labillardière (37), who estimated (probably overestimated) her age as fifty years, and the Female Tui Tonga mentioned by Farmer (23, p. 95) as dying in 1798. She was the first born child; Fuanunuiava, the fifth born, which would account for her greater age and earlier demise. Presumably she functioned only during the lifetime of her father's half brother, Maulupekotofa. 173 551

Fatafehihaapai, sister of Fuanunuiava (38) and Sinaitakala IV. For a poem dedicated to her see 16, p. 86. Fatafehilapaha, another sister, apparently intermediate in age between Sinaitakala IV and Fatafehihaapai was also Female Tui Tonga, according to the manuscript notes of Shirley W. Baker.

An unidentified Female Tui Tonga is buried in Langi Loamanu at Longoteme, Tongatabu.

THE TAMAHA

The Tamaha, the daughter of the Female Tui Tonga and sororal niece 644 of the male Tui Tonga, was the person of highest rank in the kingdom. The first recorded Tamaha, Fonokimoana, was the daughter of the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi of Vasivasi, Fiji, and the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I, and therefore sororal niece of the thirtieth Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who probably reigned in the early part of the Seventeenth Century. If Fonokimoana [177] was truly the first Tamaha, then the high office which she held appeared late in Tongan history, and may be connected with and perhaps the result of the entry of her father, a Fijian chief, into the Tongan court. It is stated that the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I fancied the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi and desired to have him as a husband. A vessel was sent to fetch him and he was married to the Female Tui Tonga, all of which reads as though he had no choice but to obey orders. A son, Fonomanu, seems to have succeeded his father as Tui Lakepa (whether in Fiji, in Tonga or in both, I do not know).

Fonomanu was the father of the second Tamaha, Tuimala, for he married the next Female Tui Tonga Ekutongapipiki, his mother's brother's daughter.

The Tamaha are listed below aligned with their mothers (Female Tui Tonga) and their mothers' brothers (male Tui Tonga), to synchronize the list, since the king list is the chronometer for what little we know of early Tongan events.

Fonokimoana, daughter of Sinaitakala I and Tui Lakepa Tapuosi. Tui Tonga Fatafehi (30). 644 173 551

Tuimala, daughter of Ekutongapipiki and Tui Lakepa Fonomanu, son of Tapuosi and brother of Tamaha Fonokimoana. Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III (31).

Simuoko, daughter of Sinaitakala II and Tui Haa Teiho Tungimanaia. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I (33).

644 173 551 Moungalakepa (1773), daughter of Sinaitakala III and Tui Lakepa (?) Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Probably buried in the Langi Mounga on Tungua Island, Haapai. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu II (35).

Latufuipeka, daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, brother of Tamaha Moungalakepa. Tui Tonga Pau (36).

Fakahikuouiha or Amelia (died 1852), daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua. Buried in a langi on Tungua Island. Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa (37).

644 Four Tamaha had the Tui Lakepa as fathers, two had the Tui Haa Teiho. It is reported that only these chiefs might beget the Tamaha. The brother of the Tamaha became the next Tui Lakepa or the next Tui Haa Teiho. Thus Takavaha, brother of Latufuipeka, became Tui Lakepa. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, brother of Fakahikuouiha, became Tui Haa Teiho. These titles are said to have been originally established by the Tui Tonga.

643 644 604 [554] The Tamaha was the great *fahu* of the Tui Tonga. To her he made obeisance, as did inferiors to him. Cook, in 1777, tells of the Tui Tonga Pau and the Tamaha Moungalakepa, to whom Pau paid the same homage that he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands. The Tui Tonga did not make obeisance to her brother the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu but did refrain from eating in his presence, thus paying him the respect due him as a lesser *fahu*. Cook states that the term *areekee* (*ariki*) was only applied to Pau and to Latunipulu.

[601] To her mother (the Female Tui Tonga) and to her mother's brother (the male Tui Tonga) the Tamaha used the term *huhu*, the royal equivalent of the ordinary Tongan term *fae* (mother). Like *fae*, which is extended to the mother's brother in the term *fae tangata* (male mother) *huhu* is extended to the mother's brother also. The reciprocal of *huhu* is said to be the ordinary term *tama* (child).

644 The term Tamaha seems to have been loosely applied to all of the children of the Female Tui Tonga begotten by the Tui Haa Teiho or the Tui Lakepa. However, only one was appointed to the preeminent office of Tamaha and that one was always a woman. The Latunipulu whom Cook met was a male Tamaha and Tui Lakepa; in fact Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 413) speaks of four contemporary Tamaha, Latunipulu and three women.

Veasi (Veachi) of whom Wilson and Mariner speak so favorably was a Tamaha, the brother of Tamaha Fakahikuouiha (Amelia) who died in 1852. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, another brother, became the Tui Haa Teiho. Veasi appears not to have had a title, but in his role of unofficial male Tamaha he was exempt from tribute paying.

[554] A reported example of a person of even more exalted rank than the Tamaha is that of Tamatauhala (name or title?) a son of a Tamaha by a Tui Tonga. It is said that there has been but one such in the history of the country. The names of his parents were not learned. The Tamaha's genealogies mention no such person.

Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, about 1470, after the assassination of his father, 613
the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was 643
Moungamotua, the son of Takalaua and younger brother of the twenty-fourth Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who bestowed upon Moungamotua one of his great matapule, Maliepo, of supposed celestial origin. A Tongan text says: "The Tui Tonga asked Maliepo if he wished to join the Tui Haa Takalaua. Maliepo replied in the affirmative. Then the Tui Tonga said: 'Wait until a few nights have passed and I shall then send you to him. You and Moungamotua must hold together the land.' "

Sixteen Tui Haa Takalaua are recorded, all descendants of the Tui Tonga 643
Takalaua. They are as follows: 173
551

1. Moungamotua, son of Tui Tonga Takalaua.
2. Tanekitonga, son of Moungamotua. Died at Pea, Tongatabu.
3. Vaeamatoka, son of Tanekitonga.
4. Siulangapo, son of Vaeamatoka.
5. Vakalahimoheuli, son of Siulangapo.
6. Moungatonga, son of Vakalahimoheuli. Father of the first Tui Kanokupolu.
7. Fotofili, son of Moungatonga.
8. Vaea, son of Fotofili.
9. Moeakiola, son of Vaea.
10. Tatafu, son of Fotofili. Exact position not certain, but this seems most likely.
11. Kafoa, or Kafoamotalau, son of Vaea.
12. Tui Onukulava. Son of Kafoa.
13. Silivakaifanga. Son of Tui Onukulava. Silivakaifanga was perhaps succeeded as Tui Haa Takalaua by Fuatakifolaha, who is discussed below.
14. Maealiuaki. He was also the eighth Tui Kanokupolu. Died 1777.
15. Mulikihaamea. Son of Maealiuaki. He was also the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu. He died in 1799 and seems to have been the last Tui Haa Takalaua.
16. Fuatakifolaha. Exact position uncertain, but near the end of the series.

Although the Tamaha Amelia does not give Fuatakifolaha in her Tui 643
Haa Takalaua list, he appears elsewhere in her genealogies as Tui Haa 173
Takalaua. His father was Tongakitaulupekifolaha, whose status I can not discover. His mother was Fusipala, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea. His daughter Mapatoutai became the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Mulikihaamea. It would seem that Fuatakifolaha lived about Cook's time. Perhaps the name recorded by Cook in 1773 (18, vol. 1, p. 207; 19, vol. 1, p. 258, foot note) as Kohagheetoo-Fallangou referred to this man, though the person whom Cook met was really the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu. Perhaps Fuatakifolaha was the immediate predecessor of Maealiuaki as Tui Haa Takalaua.

West (62, p. 56) refers to the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata as the grandson of Moungamotua, thus making Moungatonga (Ngata's father) the son of Moungamotua. This is assuredly a mistake, however, as four successive generations intervened between Moungamotua and Moungatonga.

643 The holding of the joint offices of Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu by Maealiuaki and Mulikihaamea seems to presage the extinction of the former offer—a condition which later was made permanent, and was carried further by the absorption of the Tui Tonga's office after Laufilitonga's death in 1865.

The Tamaha's account seems to indicate that the Tui Haa Takalaua held office until death, though it is specifically stated for but a few. The account reads literally:

> 643 173 Moungamotua was the first Tui Haa Takalaua, and he died and his son Tanekitonga succeeded him. He was succeeded by his son Vaeamatoka, and he was succeeded by his son Siulangapo, who was succeeded by his son Vakalahimoheuli, and he was succeeded by his son Moungatonga. On the death of Moungatonga, Fotofili became Tui Haa Takalaua. Fotofili died and Vaea was made Tui Haa Takalaua. And Vaea died and Moeakiola became Tui Haa Takalaua. On the death of Moeakiola, [his brother] Kafoa was next in succession. After he had been set adrift, he came and fought Tonga and won and he became Tui Haa Takalaua.

Just what is meant by the words "set adrift" I am not certain. I see two possibilities. Either he was exiled or he was literally set adrift in a canoe [687] to drown, which is one Tongan method of disposing of political enemies. If set adrift it is obvious he was rescued.

Elsewhere the Tamaha writes of a Tui Haa Takalaua Tatafu who was the half brother (probably younger) of Vaea and it is possible that it was he who tried to keep Kafoa from the office and that it was he whom Kafoa fought and overcame. As Tatafu's mother was a different woman from Vaea's mother, it is very probable that he was much younger; in fact it is not improbable that he was younger than his nephew Moeakiola (Vaea's son) who was the ninth Tui Haa Takalaua. This seems to be indicated by the fact that he married the sister's daughter of the thirty-fifth Tui Tonga.

643 669 175 Mulikihaamea, the last Tui Haa Takalaua, was slain in battle by troops of the Tui Kanokupolu on May 10, 1799. He had joined his forces with those of Finau Ulukalala against the adherents of the recently assassinated Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. He had at first pretended to espouse the cause of Tukuaho's avengers, but shortly threw off the mask and openly united with Ulukalala.

643 613 To-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua, but there are people who claim to belong to the lineage Haa Takalaua. King George I created a new title, Tungi, which in some measure replaces that of Tui Haa Takalaua. The title, unlike that of Tui Haa Takalaua, is inferior to the title of Tui Kanokupolu, inasmuch as it was created by the Tui Kanokupolu to give a political standing to the otherwise unrecognized lords of the Haa Takalaua lineage.

The following is Shirley W. Baker's statement of the origin of the Tui Haa Takalaua:

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Tui Kanokupolu is the hereditary title of the present ruler of Tonga. 643 Anciently the Tui Kanokupolu was third in rank, the Tui Tonga being first, 175 the Tui Haa Takalaua second. According to the Prince Consort Tungi, younger sons of a number of Tui Haa Takalaua were sent to Hihifo District, Tongatabu, to rule. These were regularly opposed and killed until about 1610, there was sent one Ngata, half Samoan, half Tongan in parentage. According to Tongan belief, Ngata's god (probably Taliai Tupou) was stronger than the Hihifo gods and Ngata established himself as the first Tui Kanokupolu.

To-day there is no division of regal power in Tonga. The Tui Kanokupolu 643 Taufaahau (afterwards King George I Tupou) obliterated the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua and centered all the power in the hands of himself as the Tui Kanokupolu, the office now filled by Queen Charlotte. The titles Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua are no longer employed. George I would seem to have absorbed the office of Tui Tonga, rather than to have abolished it, for he was declared Tui Tonga, but no ruler since has used the title, the present ruler and her father being Tui Kanokupolu and constitutional monarchs.

The list of Tui Kanokupolu is given below. It is similar to that compiled by the Tamaha Amelia and Government lists, except that Tupoumoheofo is listed before Mumui, where she unquestionably belongs, judging from Vason's testimony (60, pp. 77-78). It differs in this and other respects from the lists published by West (62, p. 56) and Collocott (13, p. 182).

1. Ngata. Son of Moungatonga, the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua. Ca. 1610. 643
2. Atamataila. Son of Ngata. 173
3. Mataeletuapiko. Son of Atamataila. 175
4. Mataelehaamea or Mataeleusitea. Son of Mataeletuapiko.
5. Vuna. Son of Mataeletuapiko. Possibly was only Tui Vavau and not Tui Kanokupolu.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Son of Mataelehaamea.
7. Tupoulahi. Son of Maafuotuitonga.
8. Macaliuaki. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1777.
9. Tui Halafatai. Son of Tupoulahi. Appointed in 1777, died 1782.
10. Tupoulahisii. Son of Tui Halafatai. Appointed in 1782.
11. Mulikihaamea. Son of Macaliuaki. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1799, but some years after he had ceased to be Tui Kanokupolu and had become Tui Haa Takalaua.
12. Tupoumoheofo. Daughter of Tupoulahi and widow of the Tui Tonga Pau.
13. Mumui. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Appointed in 1793, died in 1797. Labillardière's Tupou of 1793 (34, vol. 2, p. 118).
14. Tukuaho. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1797, died in 1799.
15. Maafuolimuloa. Son of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Son of Mumui. Resigned in 1812.
17. Tupoutoa. Son of Tukuaho. Appointed in 1812, died in 1820.

18. Aleamotua, Josiah, or Tupouifaletuipapai. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1826, died 1845. 643 173 175
19. George I Tupou, Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa. Son of Tupoutoa. Appointed December 4, 1845, died February 18, 1893.
20. George II Tupou, Taufaahau II. Son of the Tui Pelehake George Fatafehi and son's daughter's son of George I Tupou. Appointed March 17, 1893, died April 5, 1918.
21. Charlotte Mafileo. Daughter of George II Tupou. Appointed October 9, 1918.

The published works consulted indicate a hiatus between 1820 and 1826 in which there was no Tui Kanokupolu. Actually Ulakai, paternal half-brother of Tupoutoa, was appointed at the island of Uiha, following Tupoutoa's interment. He seems never to have been formally inducted into office at the sacred *koka* tree in the Hihifo District, Tongatabu, so presumably should not be counted as a Tui Kanokupolu.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE VARIOUS TUI KANOKUPOLU

1. Ngata. The first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, was one of the younger sons of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (Moungatonga). He was half Samoan, his mother being Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama (Kama) of Safata, Upolu. He was sent by his father, so tradition goes, to Hihifo to rule over the western division of Tongatabu and assumed the title of Tui Kanokupolu. Thomson (54, p. 307) gives 1610 as the probable date for his installation, Collocott (13, p. 180) gives 1650. Probably the earlier date is more nearly correct, for both Ngata and the twenty-eighth Tui Tonga, Tapuosi, married the daughters of Ahomee, according to the Tamaha's genealogies. There is today a hamlet in Hihifo District known as Kanokupolu, the name said to mean "flesh (or heart) of Upolu," Upolu being the second largest island of the Samoan group.

The modern lineage, Haa Ngata Motua, regards Ngata as its eponymous ancestor. [613] Certain chiefs who belong to it bear as titles the names or titles first borne by Ngata's sons.

2. Atamataila. Atamataila left no particular mark upon Tongan history. It was evidently his daughter Tuutangahunuhunu who was taken to the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa against her wishes (26, p. 69).

3. Mataeletuapiko. As the name seems to indicate, Mataeletuapiko must have been [732] deformed, for *tuapiko* means hunchback. It is related that he prevented his ambitious son Mataelehaamea from becoming Tui Haa Takalaua. Mataeletuapiko is considered [613] the ancestor of the great modern lineage of Haa Havea, certain of the chiefs of which bear the same titles as did Mataeletuapiko's sons. The people of Toku Island (now uninhabited) were of the Haa Takalaua and were descendants of political exiles from Haamea in central Tongatabu. Their flight to Toku is said to have taken place in the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and presumably resulted from the attempt of his son Mataelehaamea to seize the position of Tui Haa Takalaua.

4. Mataelehaamea. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu, Mataelehaamea, was the ancestor [613] of the modern lineage Haa Ngata Tupu. His nickname Mataeleusitea refers to the lack [551] of tattooing on his "backside" (buttocks?). [304]

5. Vuna. There is some doubt as to whether Vuna, listed as fifth Tui Kanokupolu, really was appointed to that office. His name is omitted from West's list. It was either he or one of his successors of the same name whom Ulukalala II overthrew when he established himself as master of Vavau. It seems unlikely that Vuna, the son of Mataeletuapiko, was the man whom Ulukalala drove from Vavau (40, vol. 1, pp. 86, 88, 160). The Vuna (op. cit. p. 410) of Mariner's time may have been the son or grandson of the fifth Tui Kanokupolu.

6. Maafuotuitonga. Nothing seems to be on record about this ruler.

7. Tupoulahi. The seventh Tui Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, may have held office at

the time of Cook's first visit in 1773. The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common. 643 173 175

8. Maealiuaki. The eighth Tui Kanokupolu, Maealiuaki, who entertained Cook lavishly, was an old man in 1777, the year he died.

9. Tui Halafatai. Ninth Tui Kanokupolu. Tui Halafatai, is said by West (62, p. 56) to have been the ruler when Cook visited the islands. A note in the Tongan Government list of Tui Kanokupolu is to the same effect. The Tamaha's genealogies state that Tui Halafatai was appointed in 1777.

10. Tupoulahisii. Tupoulahisii, the tenth Tui Kanokupolu, was ruling in 1782, but the ruler mentioned by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 118) in 1793 was Mumui who was then about sixty years old.

11. Mulikihaamea. Mulikihaamea, the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu who succeeded Tupoulahisii, gave up the office for that of Tui Haa Takalaua, an office which his father Maealiuaki had also held. He was killed in battle on May 10, 1799, when hostile troops surrounded his litter.

12. Tupoumoheofo. Tupoumoheofo held office but a short time. She seized the office unlawfully after the death of her husband, the Tui Tonga Pau, and probably immediately after Mulikihaamea's elevation to the office of Tui Haa Takalaua.

The Tamaha's statement of her attempt to become Tui Kanokupolu reads in substance as follows: 644 643 173 175

> This woman, the daughter of [the Tui Kanokupolu] Tupoulahi, had no right to be queen, but during the absence of Tukuaho, the rightful heir, at Eua, where he was sent as governor, she went to Hihifo, put a *taovala* mat about her waist, and sat with her back to the *koka* tree, beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. Then she came back and declared herself Tui Kanokupolu. Tukuaho, hearing this, returned from Eua, landing at Popua. Tupoumoheofo fled to Vavau, where she died and is buried at Pouono.
>
> Tukuaho had his father, Mumui, declared Tui Kanokupolu in 1793, and he ruled until 1797.

Other versions of this remarkable woman's attempt to best her powerful cousin, Tukuaho, are given by Wilson (66, pp. 104, 252, 274) and Vason (60, pp. 77-78).

Judging from Wilson's account (66, p. 104) Tupoumoheofo was still alive in 1797, although in exile in Vavau. Thomson (54, p. 321) says that she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. This may have been an earlier occurrence than her exile to Vavau, for Thomson speaks of this as occurring immediately after the death of the Tui Tonga Pau about 1784. It may well be that Tukuaho had more than one encounter with her. Evidently the statement of Wilson (66, p. liii) to the effect that "the influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Toogahowe [Tukuaho] had waged with success" refers to a quarrel between this woman and Tukuaho. Thomson has quite well described the probable sequence of events. [669]

13. Mumui. Mumui was an old man when appointed in 1793. He died in 1797.

The following incidents throw light on court relations in the days of the contemporaneous Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea. This account is the introduction to a poem about Mumui published by Collocott (16, p. 99): 643 173 175

There went forth a message from the chief Mumui to a man called Uhila in Hihifo, Tongatabu, to come and plait mats of coconut leaves.

As Uhila came from Hihifo, Tuakilaumea, the orator, was making a reed fence at Takoto. The orator addressed Uhila, saying: "Uhila, have you come?"

Uhila responded, saying: "I have run from Hihifo because of a message that came." 643
Tuakilaumea said: "And what is in your basket, Uhila?" 173

Uhila answered: "This basket of mine contains a present of kava."

Then suggested Tuakilaumea: "You had better leave your basket as provisions 175 for those making the fence." Uhila acceded.

Uhila went on to Mumui and Mumui greeted Uhila and said: "Uhila, have you come?"

And Uhila replied: "I have run from Hihifo because of the message that came."

Said Mumui: "I sent a message for you to come and plait my mats, because one house is very bad. And, man, have you not brought a present of kava?"

"I had some kava, but I left it with the orator (Tuakilaumea) who was building a reed fence."

Thereupon Mumui became very angry and ordered that all Nukualofa go and burn the dwelling of Tuakilaumea. They did so.

Because of this, Tuakilaumea went to Faletapu to dwell and taught there the harangue (*laulau*) about Mumui. Then went forth a message from Mulikihaamea in Mua, to bring the people who presented the harangue from Faletapu to Mua, in order that it be given in a night entertainment there. So the harangue about Mumui was performed at Mulikihaamea's entertainment.

Later Mulikihaamea went to Nukualofa and told Mumui about it, saying to him: "Tama (a familiar term for chief), you ought to hear the harangue about you, that is presented by our old man." A message was sent that the performers were to be brought to Malaealoa to present the harangue (for Mumui). It was done and Mumui was so pleased with it, that it was repeated four times. Mumui gave four fine mats to the performers as presents.

14. Tukuaho. Tukuaho, the son of Mumui, was installed as Tui Kanokupolu on 643
May 14, 1797. He was assassinated April 21, 1799. His brief reign and tyrannical 173
character have been thoroughly dealt with by other writers (40, 41, 65, 66).

A bit of additional light is thrown upon the assassination of Tukuaho by the 175
Tamaha's statement that "all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the 682
murder of Tukuaho, especially his elder brother, Tangataolakepa."

The following is a translation of a Tongan account (33) of Tukuaho's assassination at Mua:

Tupouniua and Ulukalala arrived in Tukulalo, a beach in Navutoka. They stayed there while they sent a message to Tatakamotonga in Mua, where Tukuaho stayed, to tell Falekaono [a Vavau chief] to run away for they loved him. Falekaono said to tell them he would not run away, but if they wanted to do anything to do it, and he would stay and die together with Tukuaho as payment for the food that he was eating. Tupouniua and Ulukalala said, "All right we will go ahead and he can die if he wants to, for not believing us." Falekaono said nothing to anyone, not even Tukuaho.

When night came Falekaono asked Tukuaho to share his tapa with him and to bring his bottle of oil for them both to use. Tukuaho gave him all he wanted, but wondered what was the meaning of it all. Afterwards they slept. When night was drawing to a close Tupouniua and Ulukalala came from Navutoka to Mua. When they arrived in Mua, Tukuaho was in a place called Langakali, a place for kings, and all were asleep. Ulukalala remained outside while Tupouniua went inside. He found Tukuaho asleep with his little daughter Finau by his side. Tupouniua hit Falekaono on the head with a war weapon (club?) and Tukuaho called out from the other side, "Who hits Falekaono?"

Tupouniua answered, "Wretch, my grandmother dies," and thereupon struck Tukuaho on the face and killed him. Then he went outside and departed with Ulukalala to Navutoka, whence they sailed to Haapai. Then Tupouniua went to Tongoleleka and stayed there while Ulukalala stayed in Pangai. [Both places are in Lifuka Island, Haapai.]

Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, 175
his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed 768
that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse. When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173
One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the [276]
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for 782
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

Vaini, Tongatabu. Maafulimuloa's father was Mailelaumotomoto, his father's father was 643
Hafoka, and his father's father's father was the third Tui Kanokupolu. How Maafuo- 173
limuloa came to be appointed is related by the Tamaha as follows: This chief had no 175
right to be king [Tui Kanokupolu], as he was the son of Maafutukuiaulahi [of Vaini],
but as all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the murder of Tukuaho, [682]
especially his elder brother Tangataolakepa, the rest of the children of Mumui were too frightened to declare one of themselves king. After some planning the Haa Havea [chiefs] decided to bring a son of Maafu and appoint him to keep up this position, and Maafuolimuloa was therefore brought and made king. Later in the time of peace Tupoumalohi was made Tui Kanokupolu.

According to a Nukualofa informant Maafuolimuloa reigned for one day and was [682]
assassinated.

16-21. The subsequent appointments to the office of Tui Kanokupolu are covered beyond and by the various printed sources. West (62, p. 56) and Thomson (54, p. 333) make Tupoumalohi the eldest son of Tukuaho; but Farmer (23) and the Tamaha's genealogy make him the son of Mumui and brother of Tukuaho, which I regard as correct. He resigned his office in 1812, in favor of Tupoutoa.

Tupoutoa, the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu, was appointed in 1812 and died in 1820. Tupoutoa was buried in a tomb on Uiha, constructed by a chief named Pooi, who was later buried therein himself with the approval of Taufaahau, Tupoutoa's son. Aleamotua or Josiah Tupou or Tupou-in-Faletuipapai was appointed in 1826 and died in 1845. (The name Tupou-in-Faletuipapai refers to the cemetery in which he is buried, in consonance with the usual Tongan custom of referring to deceased rulers.)

The most famous Tui Kanokupolu of all, King George I, or Taufaahau I, or Maea-
kafa, was appointed in 1845 and died in 1893. (Another name, applied in infancy be- [551]
cause he was "fed as a child," is Nginingini Ofolanga, by which he was known in [553]
Samoa and elsewhere, the name Taufaahau was adopted after the god Taufa of Ahau "cured" him of an illness.) He was the greatest ruler in Tongan history and has been so adequately covered by a number of works that I do not feel justified in entering upon any discussion of him in this paper. He was succeeded in 1893 by his great-grandson, George II, or Taufaahau II, who reigned until his death in 1918. George II was the son of the Tui Pelehake, George Fatafehi, who had married the son's daughter of George I, the son being David Unga who died in 1897, and the daughter of David Unga being Fusipala who died in 1888.

The reigning Tui Kanokupolu of today is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo, who was appointed in 1918 and who is the daughter of George II.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

The first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata was appointed from above, that is by 643
his father the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. Those of later times were 622
selected by their supporting chiefs. Wilson (66, p. 249) says:

> Today [May 14, 1797] Toogahowe [Tukuaho] was vested with the name and authority of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], in the room of his father, Moomooe
> [Mumui], deceased. His name was now changed from Feenou Toogahowe [Finau [551]
> Tukuaho] to that of Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou], the god of their family; and we [553]
> understand that none of his subjects must in future address him by his former name, on pain of death.

Vason (60, p. 79) writes:

> Toogahowe [Tukuaho], who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighboring islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his father Moomooe in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick

Of marriages of Tui Kanokupolu to daughters of the Tui Tonga, but 643
one is recorded, that of Mataeletuapiko to Fatafehi. Marriages to daughters 581
of the Tui Haa Takalaua were more popular. The first recorded is that of Mataelehaamea to Kaloafutonga, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua (Vaea). The fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna) married Lehauku, daughter of the twelfth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tui Onukulava); the thirteenth Tui Kanokupolu (Mumui) married Vailolomoli, daughter of the tenth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tatafu), and Mulikihaamea (the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu and last Tui Haa Takalaua) married Tupouahau and Mapatoutai, daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.

Although office in Tonga passes from father to son, rank is determined 643
even more by the mother than by the father. Therefore a list of the mothers (611)
of the Tui Kanokupolu is of interest. (554)

1. Ngata. Mother, Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama of Safata, Upolu Island, Samoa. 643 173
2. Atamataila. Mother, Kaufoou, daughter of Ahomee. 175
3. Mataeletuapiko. Mother, Tokilupe, daughter of Tui Haa Tuunga, of Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island. 644
4. Mataelehaamea. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
5. Vuna. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Mother, Kaloafutonga, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea.
7. Tupoulahi. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
8. Maealiuaki. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
9. Tuihalafatai. Mother, Fuenuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
10. Tupoulahisii. Mother, Uheina, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.
11. Mulikihaamea. Mother, Lupematakui, daughter of Tungimanaia, the Tui Haa Teiho.
12. Mumui. Mother, Popua.
13. Tupoumoheofo. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
14. Tukuaho. Mother, Lepolo, daughter of Atafakahau, the second Ata.
15. Maafulimuloa. Mother, Kaufusi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Mother, Pee.
17. Tupoutoa. Mother, Uluakilupetea.
18. Aleamotua. Josiah, or Tupou in Faletuipapai. Mother, Kaufusi, daughter of Fielakepa.
19. George I (Taufaahau I). Mother, Hoamofaleono, daughter of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
20. George II (Taufaahau II). Mother, Fusipala, son's daughter of Tui Kanokupolu George I.
21. Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. Mother, Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Kupu.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Although the first Tui Kanokupolu probably took up his residence in 643
Hihifo as lord of the people of western Tongatabu, that district was not the perpetual residence of this enterprising line of chiefs. In Cook's time the Tui Kanokupolu was residing at Mua, the seat of the Tui Tonga and the

and constitute the Haa Motuapuaka. See pages 38, 39.) The other name of Motuapuaka 643
was Molofaha. He is the chief of the present matapule. When the sovereign 644
has a kava ring with the chiefs, this matapule sits at the right side of the sovereign. [551]
If he cannot be present, he sends one of his brother matapules to represent him. It is said that these matapules came from Samoa with the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was a Samoan woman, the daughter of a chief named Ama.

NGATA AND THE HAA LATU HIFO

The following tale related by Daniel Faupula of Haakio, Vavau, tells 643
of Ngata the first Kanokupolu and two of his "brothers," the three being 173
called the Ulutolu (Three-heads).

The Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga had three sons, Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and Ngata. Vaoloa's mother was from Nuku's family. Halakitaua's mother from Niukapu's family. Ngata's mother was a woman called Tohuia, a daughter of a Samoan chief named Ama.

When these boys grew up, the Tui Haa Takalaua sent them to the chief Ata [a 643
probable anachronism] in Hihifo to make kava for him. They treated Vaoloa as 173
the highest chief of the first kava ceremony. For the next one, they made Halakitaua 276
the highest chief and the kava consequently belonged to him. At the third kava ceremony,
they made the youngest brother, Ngata, the highest chief. The boy was so 574
young he did not know how to command his kava to be returned to his elder brothers in the same way they had given it to him, so he simply remained silent and of course the kava has been his ever since.

At the end of the kava ceremony the three boys went back to Fonuamotu where the Tui Haa Takalaua stayed. The Tui Haa Takalaua and his matapule saw the three boys at the distance, and the Tui Haa Takalaua said to the matapule, "Gentlemen, you may see those *ulu tolu* who are coming." *Ulu tolu* means three heads, and this was the origin of the phrase Ulu Tolu as applied to the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs Nuku and Niukapu. The three boys told the Tui Haa Takalaua how the kava ceremony had gone. The Tui Haa Takalaua was amused, and said, "It is all right. Let him have your kava, for his mother was a stranger [Samoan] to this place."

The boys grew to be men. Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga sent Vaoloa to 643
live with his mother's people over whom his son became the chief Nuku; and Halakitaua 173
was sent to his mother's people in Haapai, over whom his son became the chief Niukapu in Haapai. He sent Ngata to Hihifo and made him chief of that district, because he was the son of a stranger (Samoan). Ngata became the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The Ulu Tolu left Fonuamotu. When they got as far as Takoto they were all saying to each other, "Tau mavae a he," which means, "Let us part here." This was the origin of the chiefly name Kaumavae.

The name Haa Latuhifo, which means lineage of descending chiefs, was applied [613]
to Vaoloa and Halakitaua because they became lower in rank than Ngata who was made Tui Kanokupolu. This was the origin of the Haa Latuhifo.

When a kava ceremony is held, if Nuku and Niukapu are present, but no higher [276]
chief, both preside and one, instead of the usual two, matapule is sufficient. He sits [574]
between them.

FIRST FRUITS AND TRIBUTE

All of the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tui 643
Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tui Kanokupolu 651
was regarded as his property, but subject, of course, to the demands 421
423

Apaapa. The alofi (the place occupied by chiefs in a kava party) of the Tui Tonga's kava party. A mark of respect and attention to the conversation of the Tui Tonga. 192 195

Ei koau. The affirmative, spoken in answer to the call or command of the Tui Tonga. 565 643

Fakahake. To vomit (Tui Tonga). 554

Fakalaa. Chief woman making coconut oil in the sun. The same operation by a common woman is called tanakiloło.

Fakamao. The tapa belt of the Tui Tonga.

Fakanofo. Coronation.

Fakataufolofola. To address the King; chief language.

Falealo. The family or children of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha.

Felapalapasi. Chiefs to kill each other secretly.

Fietaumafa. The hunger of the Tui Tonga.

Finangalo. The mind, applied to the Tui Tonga, nowadays to the King and the Deity.

Folofola. Word, speech, addressed only to the Tui Tonga or the Deity, and nowadays to the King; not applicable to private persons or even chiefs.

Foloha. The hair of the Tui Tonga.

Haele. To appear, applied to the gods, the Tui Tonga, and the King.

Hala. Demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha, also to the King; a sacred club.

Hau. The attendants (takanga) of the Tui Tonga; a conqueror, a reigning prince; the "tribe" of the King, as faahinga ae Hau.

Hohaa. The beard of chiefs.

Huafa. Name, applied only to gods, king, chiefs.

Lakolfie. Well in health, used to (or of) the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the King.

Lakolfua. Well in health, used of the Tui Tonga, now used of the King.

Langi. The head or face of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha; his burying place.

Oelkanga. Finished being seasick (a term used of chiefs).

Oua e takavale ai finangalo. A formal remonstrance to the Tui Tonga against the many tasks he has set for one to do in a single day, or in a too short period of time. Only the highest ranking matapule could use this remonstrance.

Puluhi. Sickness of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha.

Puluhia. Death of the Tui Tonga.

Pupuluhi. Slightly afflicted, applied to the Tui Tonga.

Sinifu. The collective name of the women of the harem of the Tui Tonga.

Taahine. Daughter of the Tui Tonga (daughter of other chiefs called fefine; daughter of lower orders called finemotua).

Tamasii. The son of the Tui Tonga.

Taumafa. To eat, applied to the Tui Tonga, but now used to high chiefs.

Tulaki. To cut the hair of the Tui Tonga.

Uluvali. The name of a person killed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.

Umeumesi. For the Tui Tonga to strike or whip his small sons.

Uta. Inland, land, on shore; the cargo or freight of a vessel; applied to the Tui Tonga and persons of his rank.

Vaavaakaka. Poorly, not well (the Tamaha).

CHIEFS

All of the modern chiefs of Tonga trace their relationship ultimately to the first Tui Tonga, the son of Tangaloa Eitumatupua, the sky god. More immediately many trace their relationship to the Tui Kanokupolu, but as 622 643 [173] [773] [776]

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the 622
shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being ex- 513
posed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying 516
of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against 834
sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy. 554

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the 622
feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the 516
ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known 826
as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty. 554

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa 622
wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. 292
Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance. 826
554

LOAU

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea 622
from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prom- 773
inent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui 173
Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

chiefs. One informant said that Loau was probably preceded by the Tui Haa 622
Tuunga, but I rather doubt this, as there was a Tui Haa Tuunga living at 773
Nukunuku during the reign of the second Tui Kanokupolu, in the seventeenth 173
century. The latest reference to Loau seems to connect him with the reign of the twenty-third Tui Tonga, in the fifteenth century.

There are several reasons for believing that Loau belongs to the period 622
before the establishment of the office of Tui Kanokupolu: (a) the Haapai 173
chiefs reputed to be the descendants of Loau have sunk to political insignificance, indicating that the Tui Kanokupolu adherents have eclipsed them; (b) the people who to-day claim descent from the Tui Haa Tuunga have ceased to be noble, a condition attributable to the same cause; (c) the territory ruled by the Tui Haa Tuunga seems to have greatly overlapped Loau's territory and extended as far west as Nukunuku, a feature which suggests, when coupled with the presence of a Tui Haa Tuunga in the Seventeenth Century, that Loau is the earlier of the two titles and that with the disappearance of the Loau title of Tui Haamea, there developed the Tui Haa Tuunga.

Traditionally, it was a Loau who allotted stewards to all Tonga as far as Uvea, and who allotted the first tasks (*fatongia*) among the different peoples—for example, assigning to the people of Tofua the bringing of volcanic stones. This traditional organization of Loau persisted until the coming
of Europeans. King George I, in the Nineteenth Century, reallotted the [178]
land but with scant alteration in the old division. [423]

The forefathers of the chiefs who now live scattered about in the Hihifo and Nukualofa districts are reputed to have lived in Haamea with Loau. The sites of the houses of the various chiefs in Haamea are still known, the mounds on which the houses stood being visible to-day. Some of the present day chiefs know the sites of their predecessors' houses in Haamea—for example, the site of the chief Lasike in Haamea is called Lakepa, as is also one of the villages belonging to him to-day. It seems likely that the chiefs now residing at Vaini and all of the way westward from there had forefathers who lived in Haamea with Loau. Maafu, the present chief of Vaini, owns Tokomololo, which is within the district of Haamea. Within Haamea was a large prairie called the *toafa* of Haamea which extended from Matakieua to Lakepa. The bush in this district is of recent growth.

The water hole in Haamea where Loau drank is still known. The site of the pond where the old legend says he sailed his vessel (26, pp. 139-152) is still to be seen but the place is dry.

Presumably after the disappearance of Loau, Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, established himself in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu.

THE CHIEFS OF LOFANGA ISLAND, HAAPAI

The earliest chiefly title in Lofanga, so far as I could learn, was that of 622 Sinilau, a name which is still bestowed. There later arose to power a chief 173 named Fanua Lofanga who belonged to the family of Loau, the Tui Haamea, and who is said to have gone to Lofanga to live and to have eclipsed Sinilau in importance. This title also has a modern holder in Lofanga.

The fortunes of these two chiefs did not remain stable for it is said that Sinilau received the whole island of Lofanga as an inheritance (*tofia*) from the Tui Tonga and that Fanua Lofanga never had much land, only a single tract (*api*). Although Fanua Lofanga became politically the more important chief, probably because of his connection with the Tui Haa Takalaua in Tongatabu, the island continued to be called the property of Sinilau. To-day the land is claimed by the Tongan Government. It is said that Sinilau's holdings are still large and Fanua Lofanga's small.

The origin of the Sinilau chieftainship is unknown. The name is that [776] of one of the Polynesian gods, and, like that god, the holders of the Sinilau chieftainship are reputed to have been handsome.

One Sinilau is reputed to have stolen the daughter of the chief Niukapu of Fangaleounga, Foa Island, on the eve of her marriage to Tungimanaia. She bore him two daughters, Nanasi, and Kafoatu. They both married the chief Malupo of Uiha, the elder sister Nanasi as the *fokonofo* of her younger sister.

TITLES OF CHIEFS

I present below certain of the chiefly titles together with data as to 622 554
origin and incumbents. (See also p. 130.) King George I created the mod- [128]
ern title *nobeli* (noble) as designation for those chiefs who retain their [643]
hereditary lands (*tofia*). See figure 1.[A] [565]

Ahio, highest chief of the Haa Ngata Motua and recipient of the largest share 622
at feasts. Seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. At the death of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata, 173
Ahio was in Eua. He declined to become Tui Kanokupolu, saying, "Make one of 551
my younger brothers Tui Kanokupolu." He is comparable to the Tui Tonga in re- 554
serving chiefliness and passing temporal troubles to another. He has no matapule 613
but on occasion borrows one. The first Ahio was the son of Vakalepu (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and Hifo, daughter of Ahomee). J. Vehikite Ahio was chief in 1862.

Ahomee, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. Title antedates that of Tui Kanokupolu as the first Tui Kanokupolu married daughters of Ahomee. An Ahomee named Otukolo succeeded his father, Daniel Ahomee, who died Sept. 21, 1896.

Ata, leader of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. The title was borne in turn by Kaumavae, son of first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata; Atafakahau, son of Kaumavae; Puakahuhua, son of Atafakahau; the Ata murdered at Houma, son of Puakahuhua; Fisihoi, son of Puakahuhua; Tofuaipangai, son's (Ngata) son of Atafakahau; Tautalanoa, son of Tofuaipangai; Ula, brother's (Masima) son's (Manuopangai) son of Tautalanoa, Ata in 1921.

[A] [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

Fakafanua, a chief of the Haa Takalaua, seat at Maufanga, Tongatabu. A Vavau 622
informant puts him in the Haa Tui Faletahi lineage. The first Fakafanua, Naanaa, 173
was the son of Kinikinilau (26, p. 69), a fisherman who through marriage to the Tui
Kanokupolu's daughter bestowed higher rank on his son. J. Fakafanua, died June 5, 551
1900; and S. Fakafanua, died August 22, 1914. 554

Fakatouio, chiefly title at Felemea, Uiha Island. 613

Falekaono, a Vavau chief (matapule *fide* Maatu) who owns the tract Popua in Eua Island, probably given him by Takaihouma, a chief of that island. The first Falekaono of whom the genealogies speak was the son of Luani, and the grandson of Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea. He was attendant upon the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho and was slain with him on April 22, 1799. The next Falekaono was succeeded in turn by his son Ngungutau (incumbent in 1862), and by his brother Alaipulotu.

Fehiosi, titled chief at Uiha, Uiha Island. Title makes bearer "brother" to chief Malupo. Incumbent in 1920 formerly called John Likuhangavale.

Fielakepa, a chief of the Haa Havea, seat at Havelu, Tongatabu. The first Fielakepa, Longolongoatumai, son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and the Tamaha Tuimala, was succeeded by his son. A later Fielakepa, Tongaliuaki, was the son of Niumeitolu and grandson of Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua; his mother was Faaiseina (a Samoan). M. Teuhema Fielakepa was chief in 1862. Aisea Fielakepa died February 11, 1904.

Fifi, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui.

Fohe, a chief of the Haa Havea, seat at Puke, Tongatabu. The first Fohe was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. The daughter Toa of an early Fohe became the wife of the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa. Their son Sisifa, and his son Kulipapalangi (European dog) became Fohe. Other holders of the title were U. Halatokoua Fohe, who was holding office in 1862; John Fohe who died July 2, 1871; J. Fohe who died September 18, 1876; and Asaeli Fohe who died August 11, 1906.

Fotofili, a chief of the Haa Takalaua and ruler of Niuafoou. The late premier Tui Vakano writes: "Nothing to do with the titles of Tongatabu. Practically king of Niuafoou and created his own chiefs." According to informant Moungatonga the first Fotofili of Niuafoou was the brother of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. Fotofili mentioned by the genealogies bore the personal names Fakasiieiki and Alokuoulu. Two other holders of the title were Lavaka, who was living in 1862, and Peter who died on January 12, 1888.

Fulivai, a chief in the Haa Takalaua, seat at Hunga Island, Vavau. A Fulivai was one of the chiefs put to death by Ulukalala II. The Tamaha's genealogies indicate the following succession of incumbents: Komoeatu, his son Oneata, Oneata's son Vahavahai, Vahavahai's son Siofilisi. There was also a Halaapiapi Lulu, who was Fulivai, but how he was related to the others I cannot determine. In 1862 the incumbent was T. Kaianuanu. His father was Sikihaumu who may have been Fulivai, though the genealogies do not state either that he was or was not.

Fusitua, a chief of Niuafoou, created by and subordinate to Fotofili.

Hafoka, Eua chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. Manumua of Eua is really more chiefly than Hafoka, but about 1860 Manumua gave his kava right to Hafoka. The reason was that a daughter of Manumua bore a son to Hafoka. When this son grew up he was appointed Hafoka, and his mother's family gave him the kava, no doubt because of the *fahu* relationship. There have been three Hafoka in Eua. The original one was son of a Veehala. He lived in Eua and begot children by Eua women. The name continued as a chiefly name and the Tui Kanokupolu now appoints the Hafoka. The informant thought the title did not date back far enough for the Tui Tonga to have appointed. The present Hafoka, Moses, has no hereditary land (*tofia*) and is not a "noble."

Halaapiapi, the first Halaapiapi mentioned in the genealogies is Mariner's friend, who later murdered Finaufisi, also Mariner's friend. This Halaapiapi was a descendant of Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. His father was Pasiaka, whose father was Tuituiohu, whose father was Mataelehaamea the Tui Kanokupolu. There was a chief, S. Halaapiapi living in 1862. I doubt if the name is a title, however. 622 173 551

Halatokoua, titled chief at Uiha, Uiha Island. The title makes the bearer "brother" to Malupo, even though actually not so related. 554 613

Haveatuli, title of one of two chiefs sent by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Vavau. The other chief bore the title Niutongo. Both title-bearers are commoners now, and, although they are regarded as the descendants of the two original chiefs who came to Vavau, are appointed by Tahifisi, himself a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Kapukava, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Kapukava was a son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee. He was succeeded by his son. The seat of Kapukava is at Holonga where an ancestor was given a tract by a Tui Tonga. Holonga is not in the Hihifo district where the other Haa Ngata Motua chiefs reside, but is in the Hahake district of Tongatabu.

Kavakimotu, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui, with seat at Hamula, Tongatabu.

Lasike, a chief of Kanokupolu, Tongatabu. Placed by the premier Tui Vakano in the Haa Fale Fisi, by the informant Tapueluelu in the Haa Tui Kanokupolu. Informants at Okoa Island, Vavau, said that although Lasike is of Fijian origin, he does not belong to the Fale Fisi. The first Lasike mentioned in the genealogies was the son of a Fijian named Palei and of Toafilimoeunga (daughter of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko). It seems not unlikely that the title started with this individual, who was succeeded by his son as Lasike. Hocart (32) names Rausike as a Tongan title derived from Lakemba. The Lasike of 1862 was K. Palei. A Lasike died May 5, 1898.

Latukefu, a chief of commoner origin and member of Haa Ngata Motua by invitation.

Lavaka, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu, and a member of the Haa Havea. The earliest Lavaka in the genealogies was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and a woman from Haatuukau named Holokuku. This Lavaka was a paternal half brother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and may be the individual referred to below as Lavaka Haatuukau. The next Lavaka mentioned was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and Fatafehi, daughter of the Tui Tonga. A later Lavaka married Tofitae, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Tatafu. Their son was Lavaka Fanuauli, who married Huafaikikava, daughter of the matapule Motuapuaka. Their son Liuakaaetau is mentioned specifically as bearing the title Lavaka. Later incumbents were J. Nuku mo Vahai Lavaka who held the title in 1862, a Lavaka who died in 1893, and one who died on October 19, 1916. Other Lavaka bore the personal names Toafaohihifo and Mafimatapule. I cannot assign them to their proper positions in the series.

Lavaka Haatuukau, a chief buried in the cemetery Kelekelemeifisi, Maufanga, Tongatabu. He was said to have been an important chief at Mua and to have moved thence to Maufanga. While living there he built his tomb (*faitoka*) of earth brought from Fiji. The mound is about 8 feet high and 75 feet in diameter.

Luani, a chief of the Haa Vaea. The first Luani mentioned in the genealogies is the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea by Sungu, a Fijian woman from Peka (Mbeka, Mbenga?). One of his sons was Falekaono, who was murdered with Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. Another son became the next Luani. He was succeeded by his son Moungalakepa. His son Siukituatonga became the next Luani. Siukituatonga's mother was Toeumu, the woman in Mariner's account who defied "King" Finau. Siukituatonga was succeeded by his brother's (Niukapu) son Silas Fusi who was the Luani who died March 21, 1895. He was succeeded by his brother Puaka. Their mother was Toa of Leimatua, Vavau Island. The last incumbent (Puaka ?) died in 1917. His son and heir was about four years old at that time. Probably he has not yet been appointed.

Lutu, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui, with seat at Toloa, Tongatabu.

Maafutakinima, a chief in Foui, Tongatabu, said to be either the "son or younger 622
brother" of Ata. Appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. The first Maafutakinima was 173
the son's daughter's child's son of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu. Kaumavae was
Ngata's son, Fiekaniva was Kaumavae's daughter, Pulupulutuu was Fiekaniva's child 551
(presumably son), and the first Maafutakinima was Pulupulutuu's son. Somewhat 554
later there was a Maafutakinima who bore the personal name Afemui. A later Maa- 613
futakinima mentioned in the genealogies lived in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. His son was Atefulufulu who became the next Maafutakinima, but was killed in an attack on the Hihifo district of Tongatabu by Tupouniua (brother of Ulukalala II and friend of Mariner). Atefulufulu's sons Mafuahingano and Muakiholeva successively held the title Maafutakinima after their father's death.

Maafutukuiaulahi is the head of the Haa Havea. His seat is Vaini, Tongatabu. The earliest Maafutukuiaulahi mentioned in the genealogies was Hafoka, the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko. Hafoka's mother was Papa, the daughter of Aokatoa (the Tui Haamea). She was also the mother of the first Fohe. Her younger sister Umukisia, who accompanied her as a supplementary wife, or *fokonofo*, was the mother of other Haa Havea chiefs: Vaea, Tui Vakano, and Momotu. Hafoka's son Mailelaumotomoto was the next incumbent. His son Tangatailavalu became Maafutukuiaulahi, and a second son Limuloa became Tui Kanokupolu. Maluotaufa (son of Tangatailavalu) was the next incumbent. Hoamofaleono (the daughter of Maluotaufa and mother of King George I) became the mother of the next Maafutukuiaulahi who bore the personal name Filimoeulie. His father was Moimoi. Siotame Fakatulolo, son of Filimoeulie, was the next Maafutukuiaulahi. Kumaikuvalu and his son Finautoki are two other incumbents whose exact position in the series I cannot ascertain. L. Taufa was Maafutukuiaulahi in 1862, and B. Maafutukuiaulahi, died September 2, 1887.

Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu and Tafahi islands. See page 284 for list of title bearers. The late premier Tui Vakano wrote me as follows concerning the title Maatu: "Belongs to Tui Tonga family of very olden times. He was practically king of Niuatoputapu and had nothing to do with the title on Tongatabu, but created his own chiefs."

Mahina, an ancient chieftainship with seat at Haa Tuukau (between Haa Kio and Faleono) in Vavau Island. Mahina, Puakatea, and Takalatea were all conquered by the fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna), even though they were already the subjects of the Tui Tonga.

Malupo, head of one of the two Haa Ngana subdivisions of the Haa Fale Fisi, and chief of northern half of Uiha Island, Haapai. T. Saulala Malupo was chief in 1862. K. Malupo died January 14, 1900. The present Malupo was named John Folaumoeloa before his elevation. He succeeded his father's brother. His own father was Simote Foliaki; he was not Malupo. The place where Malupo lives is always called Haa Ngana, just as Pangai applies to the Tui Kanokupolu's place. The tombs of the Malupo are on Uiha, where is also the tomb of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa.

Manumua, the first Manumua was the son of Takeleveka, namesake of the older Takeleveka, but no relation. (See Divination, p. 333.) This person was the son of a Tui Tonga by a concubine, but was adopted by Ofa, the son of the older Takeleveka. With his adoptive father and one of the Tui Tonga's men named Lo he moved to Eua Island and became the progenitor of the chiefs of Eua since his time. He married the daughter of Hama, who belonged to the family of the Tui Haa Takalaua. Their child was Manumua, who became chief of Eua. The name has since been used as the title and there is a Manumua today. (See Hafoka.)

Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's representative in Haapai. Formerly called the Tui Haapai. He resided in Uoleva Island, which was a pigeon reserve. The present Matauvave is of only matapule rank. The first Matauvave was appointed by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, in the Fifteenth Century, so tradition says; and is referred to in the Tamaha's genealogies as a "king." The present Matauvave was called Tuakimoana before his elevation. He succeeded his mother's brother Nehoa, whose son

and heir had died in Fiji. Nehoa was preceded in the Matauvave title by his older 622
brother Jacob, who had succeeded a man (presumably related) named Paul Fisilau. 173
Tuakimoana, the incumbent of 1921, was installed in office by Kalaniuvalu, son of the 551
Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a chief in Mua, Tongatabu, who, about 1870, gave a 554
kava party in Pangai, Lifuka, at which the first cup was served to Tuakimoana and
his title was called out as Matauvave. 613

Momotu, a chief of the Haa Havea, now claimed as a member of the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Momotu was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and of Umukisia, daughter of the Tui Haamea Aokatoa. (See further details about Momotu, page 32.)

Napaa, a title of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. The first incumbent was the son of Tupoulolotava, the son of Taukinukufili, the son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea. The first Napaa was succeeded by his son.

Niukapu, the first Niukapu of the Tamaha's genealogies was the son of Halakitaua, who was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and of the woman Manutapu (daughter of Vake of Haano Island, Haapai). One Niukapu of the Nineteenth Century bore the personal name of Naiteitei. T. Poese Niukapu was chief in 1862, and V. Niukapu died on April 17, 1914. Niukapu is a member of the Haa Latu Hifo and his seat is at Fangaleounga, Foa Island, Haapai.

Niutongo, title of one of two chiefs sent by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Vavau. See Haveatuli.

Nuku, chief of Kolonga, Tongatabu, and a member of the Haa Latu Hifo. In the Tamaha's genealogies, the first Nuku mentioned was the son of Vaoloa, who was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vakalahimoheuli and younger brother of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. N. Muli Nuku was chief in 1862. A Nuku died December 17, 1896.

Ngalungalu, chief of Neiafu, Tongatabu. A member of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Puakatea, chief of Fuhu, Vavau Island. See Mahina.

Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. Tafololahi (Tafolo the Eldest) was the son of Kauulufonua and of Tuutangahunuhunu (daughter of the second Tui Kanokupolu Atamataila). Kauulufonua was a contemporary of the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa. The son of Tafolo (*lahi*) was Ulufonuaaevalu, whose son was Tafolo, whose son was Tafolo, whose son Inasiulu was the father of Tui Pulotu, who was the father of Siofilisi Otu, who was Tafolo in 1862. Inasiulu lived about 1800 and is referred to by Collocott (16, p. 95).

Tahilau, a chief of Uiha, Uiha Island. To Chief Malupo he stands in fictitious relation of "brother."

Takaihouma, a chief of Houma, Eua Island.

Takalatea, former chief at Fuhu, Vavau Island. See Mahina.

Takeleveka, the reputed "original" chief of Eua.

Taliauli, the first Taliauli mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea by the Fijian woman Sungu from Peka (perhaps Mbenga). This Taliauli was succeeded by his son Taliauli, who was succeeded by his son Taliauli (whose mother was Vui).

Tangipa, a chief of Niuatoputapu, subordinate to Maatu. The title was created by Maatu.

Taufa Tofua, chief of Tofua Island, Haapai, now uninhabited. The present Taufa Tofua succeeded his father, while I was in Tonga. His preappointment name was Hame Faiva. Before he became chief he was a commoner. His mother was the daughter of a matapule and his father's chiefly blood had been much diluted by the marriages of his forefathers to women of low rank. (For alleged first Taufa Tofua, see 26, p. 67.)

Toamotu, a chief of Koloa Island, Vavau. The first Toamotu was rewarded with land on Koloa by King George I, for bravery at siege of Pea, Tongatabu. His preappointment name was Tupoumeieua and he was a man of Nukuleka, Tongatabu, now

buried at Makaunga, Tongatabu. He was of Haa Takalaua as are present Toamotu 622
and many Koloa people. Koloa was originally the personal property of the Tui Tonga.
Touli, the only remaining person of the Tui Tonga's tenants, lives at Holeva, Koloa 173
Island. Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava resided there in Mariner's day. 551

Totolate, the chief of Late Island, Vavau. Belongs to "Haa Tui Kanokupolu." 554

Tui Afitu, a chief of the Fale Fisi, appointed anciently by the Tui Tonga, but 613
to-day by the Tui Kanokupolu. Seat at Makave, Vavau. A notorious bearer of this title was Lolomanaia, who seduced Talafaiva (26, p. 37), the wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I. Perhaps it was this same man who married Fatafehi, daughter of a Tui Tonga and thereby acquired Fonoifua Island, which his successors have continued to hold (26, p. 68). S. Tonga Tui Afitu, chief in 1862.

Tui Haamea, chief of the district of Haamea in central Tongatabu. The title no longer exists, or if it does is politically unimportant. The last Tui Haamea of whom I have record was Aokatoa, whose daughter Papa became the wife of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and the mother of the fourth and fifth Tui Kanokupolu. Another daughter, Umukisia, was also wife of Mataeletuapiko, being a *fokonofo* brought by Papa. The famous chiefs called Loau were Tui Haamea. (See p. 130.)

Tui Haa Ngana, chief of one of the two Haa Ngana subdivisions of the Fale Fisi. Malupo is chief of the other. The place where Tui Haa Ngana lives is always called Haa Ngana. His seat is the island of Haano, Haapai. The Tamaha's genealogies mention Liufau, who was Tui Haa Ngana and who was succeeded by his son Lataimaumi. Israel Havea Tui Haa Ngana died June 7, 1899.

Tui Haa Teiho, of the lineage Fale Fisi. At present the Tui Haa Teiho is appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. According to the Tamaha's genealogies and to Charlotte Toafilimoeunga of Vavau, sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, the following have held the title: Tungimanaia (Fakatakatuu), adopted son of the preceding Tui Haa Teiho; Tui Kolovatu, buried in circular mound near Paepae o Telea, Lapaha, Tongatabu; Mapa; Haveatungua, son of Mapa; Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, son of Haveatungua; Kelepi Fulilangi, son of Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha; Paul Kolokivaitupu (Paul Havea), son of Kelepi Fulilangi; John Vuna, son of Paul Kolokivaitupu; Kelepi Havea, son of Paul Kolokivaitupu, younger brother of John Vuna and of informant Charlotte Toafilimoeunga; John Fatukimotulalo, son of Kelepi Havea, incumbent.

I am not certain that Tui Haa Teiho I is the earliest incumbent. He adopted Tungimanaia as his son. Tungimanaia was the daughter's son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili and the son's son's son of Fonomanu (Tui Lakepa, brother of Tamaha Fonokimoana, and father of Tamaha Tuimala). Tungimanaia married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala II and became the father of the Tamaha Simuoko. The Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua was the father of the last Tamaha.

Tui Haa Tuunga, the chiefs at Nukunuku, Tongatabu, who were displaced by Tui Vakano. The Tui Haa Tuunga was still ruling in the time of the second Tui Kanokupolu Atamataila, for the latter married Tokilupe, his daughter. Presumably, the Tui Haa Tuunga had displaced the still earlier Tui Haamea.

Tui Lakepa. The founder of the Tongan title of Tui Lakepa was the Tui Lakemba of Vasivasi, Fiji, who came to Tonga and married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. The lineage Fale Fisi sprang from him. The modern Tui Lakepa heads the Fale Fisi. The tombs of the Tui Lakepa are Langitoamanatu and Nakulukilangi, Lapaha, Tongatabu. Tapuosi, the Tui Lakepa from Vasivasi, Fiji, was succeeded in office by his son Fonomanu, who like Tapuosi became the father of a Tamaha. Fonomanu's successor was his son Nautu. Lelenoa (daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea) was the mother of Nautu's son and successor, Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Fehokomoelangi married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala III, and became the father of the Tamaha Moungalakepa whom Cook met. Latunipulu succeeded his father Fehokomoelangi as Tui Lakepa, and was in turn succeeded by his own son Takavaha.

Tui Loloko, one of the Falefa chiefs. One within memory of an informant bore the name Laufulitonga before appointment.

Tui Matahau, one of the Falefa chiefs.

622
173
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Tui Pelehake. The Tui Pelehake is also called Tui Faleua and heads the lineage Haa Talafale. The first Tui Pelehake was the celestial paternal half-brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and is reputed to have descended with him from the sky. The Tamaha's genealogies mention first a Tui Pelehake who bore the personal name Fisilaumali. He married Fusipala (daughter of Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu). His son and successor Lekaumoana married Toeumu (of Mariner's day) and begot a son and successor called Uluvalu. Uluvalu married Latuholeva (daughter of the Tamaha Latufuipeka) and begot the next Tui Pelehake who was named Filiaipulotu. Filiaipulotu married Charlotte Mafileo (daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu George I) and begot the latest Tui Pelehake George Fatafehitoutai, who became the father of the Tui Kanokupolu George II. Fatafehitoutai was born on July 2, 1842, and died on November 20, 1912. It is likely that one of the sons of the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte will become the next Tui Pelehake.

Tui Talau, one of the Falefa chiefs. The traditional first Tui Talau was the Fijian Tui Motuliki, the supernatural child of Maui Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi (50, p. 140).

Tui Tufu, chief of Eueiki Island, Tongatabu.

Tui Vakano, a chief of the Haa Havea with seat at Nukunuku. The first Tui Vakano was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko by Umukisia, the daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. (Collocott [15, p. 41] makes the first Tui Vakano the son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu, probably mistakenly. The Lakembans claim [32] that the first Tongan Tui Vakano was a Lakemban emigrant, the Tui Soso of Nukunuku, Lakemba, who changed his name to Tui Vakano in Tonga.) He married Huiuha (daughter of Taufa Tofua) and begot Mafana (Tui Vakano) and Hafokamee (Tui Vakano). Hafokamee had a son of the same name, but the genealogies do not show whether he was Tui Vakano. Hafokamee the younger had two sons who were Tui Vakano. The first is designated in the genealogies simply as Tui Vakano, the second bore the personal name of Fa. Then ensues a break in the record. In 1862 the Tui Vakano bore the name William Vaea Mataele. It was apparently he who was deposed by his people before 1837 for having embraced Christianity. On January 24, 1912, there died S. Tui Vakano. The late Tui Vakano of 1921, who was premier of Tonga, was born December 28, 1869, and bore the personal name Polutele. His mother Ana was the daughter of a preceding Tui Vakano. His father was Kahomovailahi.

Tui Vakanofisi, chief appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu, formerly by the Tui Tonga. He resides at Houma, Tongatabu, and belongs to the Fale Fisi. The relationship of the present title holder to Vaea is very close. Were Vaea to have no heir it is said that the present Tui Vakanofisi might become the next Vaea, even though Vaea is of the Haa Havea.

Tuita, a chief-matapule of the Haa Toutai. Faingaanuku was the name of the first Tuita who went to Fiji and there exchanged names with the Fijian Tuita. The Tuita on record are as follows: Faingaanuku Tuita; Polutele, son of Faingaanuku; Tuita, son of Polutele, who married the Tamaha Latufuipeka; Lolohea Loholoho, son of Ulukalala I by Siulua, adopted by the Tamaha Latufuipeka for Tuita; Makahokovalu, son of Tuita and of the Tamaha Latufuipeka; George Ulukivaiola, son of Makahokovalu; Israel Tupou, daughter's son of George Ulukivaiola, incumbent, appointee of King George II, following death of George Ulukivaiola on June 30, 1909. The father of present Tuita is David Unga of Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The last Tuita had no legitimate sons, although many illegitimate ones who could not succeed.

Tungi, title created by King George I in 1875 to replace in a measure the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, which was allowed to fall into abeyance. The title was really the personal name of William Tungi now deceased and buried in Falepulemaalo, one of the Tui Haa Takalaua tombs at Loamanu, Lapaha, Tongatabu. His son's son, the

Prince Consort, is the second person to bear the title. The seat of the Tungi is at 622
Tatakamotonga, Tongatabu. 173

William Tungi (I), died June 13, 1900. His son George Tukuaho was father of 551
William Tungi (II), Prince Consort, who was born November 1, 1887. His personal 554
name was William Tupoulahi. 613

Tupou Angataha, a chieftaincy which terminated with the accession of King George I. (See page 323.)

Tupouata, chief of Ata Island. Only one person held this title, appointed in heathen times.

Tupoutoa, newly created (1921) title for the late John Mateialona, a first cousin of King George II. A member of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu.

Tuuhetoka, listed as one of *houeiki* in 1862 in a Tongan government publication. By some informants he was said to be a matapule, but whom he served I did not learn. B. Fakailomoa Tuuhetoka, chief in 1862. Sekonaia Tuuhetoka died November 16, 1889.

Ulukalala, a member of the Haa Ngata Tupu. The seat of Ulukalala is in Vavau. Tangataohaamea is the personal name of the present Ulukalala's oldest son and heir apparent. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea controlled Vavau and bestowed land there upon his son Tuituiohu. One informant said that Tuituiohu was sent there as governor by the Tui Tonga Pau to replace Fakatea, who had previously been in charge. The first Ulukalala was the son of Tuituiohu. There must have been more or less rivalry for the control of Vavau between Tuituiohu and his descendants on the one hand and Vuna (the fifth Tui Kanokupolu and conqueror of Vavau) and his descendants on the other hand. Mariner (41, pp. 370, 372, 377, 379, 396) relates how a later Vuna was expelled by Ulukalala III. The succession of Ulukalala chiefs was as follows: Ulukalala I was the son of Tuituiohu and Tufui, the daughter of the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, or according to another version, of Tuituiohu and the Tamaha Latufuipeka. He was apparently Cook's Finau of 1777. It seems to be his death that is recorded on June 12, 1797 (65, p. 255). Ulukalala I is designated as Ulukalala in Maufanga, referring to his burial place near Havelu, in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. It was his body that was exhumed by the forces arrayed against his son Ulukalala II, in the internecine wars at the close of the eighteenth century. Ulukalala II, Mariner's patron, is designated as "in Feletoa," the cemetery in Vavau Island in which he is buried. Mariner's younger Finau, Moengangongo, son of Ulukalala II, presumably became Ulukalala III, as Mariner says, though the Tamaha's genealogies do not mention the title Ulukalala in connection with his name. Ulukalala IV (in Pouono) was also the son of Ulukalala II. His personal name was Tuapasi. His son Matekitonga who apparently never became Ulukalala was the father of the incumbent George Finau, the present Ulukalala. His son Tangataohaamea was destined (in 1921) to marry Fusipala, the young sister of the present Tui Kanokupolu, evidently with a view to more closely binding the Ulukalala chiefs to the ruling dynasty. Finaufisi and Tupouniua of Mariner's time were paternal half-brothers of Ulukalala II.

Vaea, a chief of the Haa Havea, with seat at Houma, Tongatabu. Vaivai, the first Vaea was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko by Umukisia, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. Succeeding holders of the title were: Muni, son of Vaivai; Vunivalu, son's son of Muni, the son of Muni being called Tui Motuliki; Hafokamee; Finauhuia, son's son of Muni, the son being Tui Motuliki; Hafokamee; Finauhuia, brother of Vunivalu; Hivapeaulu, son of Finauhuia; Tamataane, son of Finauhuia; Funakimalohi, son's son of Vunivalu, the son being Taulakau; William Kafokuota, son of Tamataane, died August 6, 1886; Josiah Tava, son of Hivapeaulu; Solomon Kulikefu, son of Tamataane, died October 9, 1887; Shadrach Nuku, son of Tamataane, died July 30, 1893; J. Panuve Loloa, son of Solomon Kulikefu, incumbent in 1921.

Vahai, in daily life a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. His seat is Foui, Tongatabu. In the kava circle he is reckoned as a member of the Haa Latu Hifo to which his paternal male ancestors belonged. Some say he stands in relation of "son" (*foha*) to Nuku of that lineage, others say that he stands in the relation of "younger brother"

(*tehina*). J. Langoia Vahai was chief in 1862. J. Vahai died August 14, 1900. An 622
earlier Vahai bore the personal name of Toloaatonga. 173

Valu, chief of Utulau, Tongatabu. 551

Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, resident at Fahefa, Tongatabu. The 554
first Veehala was the son of Leilua (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and 613
of Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee). Punou Veehala was chief in 1862. Shadrach Veehala (son of Ata), died March 26, 1893.

Veikune, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. The name Veikune was made a title by King George II as a reward to Jiosateki Veikune, premier of Tonga from 1893 till 1904. The holder of the title in 1921 was the Governor of Vavau. Osaiasi Tonga Veikune died January 3, 1867. Jiosateki Veikune died October 17, 1913.

Vunivalu, the first Vunivalu mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies bore the personal name Matausioehau, and was the son of a Tongan woman named Kalaepulevalu and a Fijian named Ate. He was succeeded by his son Uaisele (Wesley?) Fifita, and Fifita was succeeded as Vunivalu by his son Maafu, and Maafu was succeeded by his son Tupou. Hocart (32) derives the Tongan Vunivalu from Lakemba.

MATAPULES

The matapules (called by some writers petty chiefs) are, strictly speak- 624 565
ing, the titled ceremonial attendants of titled chiefs as distinguished from at- [622]
tendants in general (*takanga*). But like *eiki* (chief), the word matapule
has been extended in application to include all persons who are of matapule
rank by virtue of their blood, regardless of whether they hold titles or not.
Only one person in a family at one time holds a matapule title. Only a [622]
titled chief may have a titled matapule. Kava can be presented ceremonially [276]
only by a matapule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only
through a matapule.

Some of the duties of the matapule are described in the sections "The [128]
court of the Tui Tonga" (pp. 63-71) and "Kava drinking" (pp. 156-168).

Like the titled chief, the titled matapule is the representative of the 565
first title bearer or ancestor. As a rule he serves the titled chief whose 622
ancestor his ancestor served. There is a very considerable range in the 624
power and influence of matapules, their positions being correlated largely
with the power and influence of the chiefs they serve. Thus to-day Lauaki [643]
and Motuapuaka are by far the greatest of the matapules, for they serve [644]
the sovereign Tui Kanokupolu. On the other hand the present matapules [643]
of the Tui Tonga exercise no such power and influence as did their prede- [178]
cessors in the days when the Tui Tonga was flourishing.

The matapules are related to both chiefs and commoners. The ancestor of 565
Lauaki is reputed to have descended from the sky with his brother Ahoeitu, 173
the first Tui Tonga, but most other matapule titles are traced to the advent 167
of some foreigner from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. Just what significance is to be attached to the absence of matapules from Niue and Futuna, I do not know. Their absence from Uvea, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafoou is no doubt connected with the feeling that the inhabitants of those islands are Ton-

gans, not foreigners. This foreign origin does not militate against relationship 565
with the modern chiefs and commoners of Tonga. The matapules have be- 173
come thoroughly amalgamated with the population through intermarriage. 167

The reason assigned for the employment of foreigners as matapules is that 565
they are exempt from the tapu which separate a Tongan chief and his purely 186
Tongan relatives. Thus Hɔakai (Soakai), a matapule to the Tui Tonga, 784
was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do. 624

Unlike commoners, few matapules were killed by chiefs for offenses. 565
Furthermore, a matapule might leave a chief and go to another for greater 624
reward, though returning to the first chief incurred death. Tongan com- 622
moners might be raised to what was virtually matapule rank by being given [681]
titles for prowess in war, industry in agriculture, or success in fishing. [555]

The three great influxes of matapules are traditionally connected with 565
the entry into Tonga of three persons of high rank. From Fiji in the reign 173
of Tuitatui, came Tui Motuliki (afterwards called Tui Talau), the putative 167
supernatural child of the two Maui (Atalanga and Kisikisi). With him
came other Fijians who became matapules of the Tui Tonga. Tui Motu-
liki and his followers were warmly welcomed (50, pp. 140-142). Quite [648]
likely later, and probably about 1600, a great influx of Samoans was signalized by the marriage of the Samoan lady Tohuia to the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. A little later came Tapuosi, the Fijian Tui Lakepa, with a following of chiefs and matapules. (See Hocart, 32.) In addition to these three important accretions there was doubtless an intermittent dribbling in of foreigners. (See list p. 504.)

Of particular interest is the matapule Kama (Samoan, Ama). He is a descendant of that Ama who was the father of Tohuia, the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata. The present matapule Kama, is addressed as grandfather by all of the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu, because Ama of Safata, Samoa, was the grandfather of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu. The chief Ama of Samoa came first to Tonga, perhaps near the end of the Sixteenth Century, and was followed by his daughter Tohuia, who became the mother of Ngata. The present Kama does not know whether Ama the chief remained in Tonga or returned to Samoa; nor does he know how the Tongan Kama became matapule, but thinks it was because they were foreigners. Kama and his son visited the predecessor of the present Ama in Samoa in 1894. Ama was much annoyed that his relatives in Tonga ranked only as matapule, and told them that they were the descendants of the elder of two brothers, while the Samoan Ama were the descendants of the younger brother. For that reason the visiting Kama was given the chief's kava while in Samoa. The Kama in Tonga have always been appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaita- 565
iki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 173
167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of 565
a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony 624
Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from [123]
Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One [554]
informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that
Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.)

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the mata- [276]
pule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence [553]
he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's [428]
side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social posi- [554]
tion of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced.

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When 565
addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; 624
in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may 622
sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk [516]
and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were [537]
used by chiefs only.

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title 565
to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of 624
both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even 428
such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother).

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka 565
who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands 644
are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niu- [551]
atoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano.

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The [502]
occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*.

When the Tui Kanokupolu voyages, Ula acts not only as navigator but 565
as matapule in general while at sea, and for three days after landing. Thereafter 644
Motuapuaka, or his representative, resumes the duties. The same applied 643
to Leka in relation to the Tui Tonga. [502]

The two following versions of the origin of the title Ula are of interest.

Hiva is the name of a little stream running into the sea in Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. [554]
The Tui Tonga was there bathing, attended by Motuapuaka and Akauola, [173]
when a sturdy little child came along, running up to the king without any sign of fear. The king asked whose child it was and Akauola replied falsely that it was his. The king said it was a clever little boy (*tamasii fie ula*). The name of *fie ula* stuck and was the origin of the title Ula. The child came from no man knows whence and was probably a god.

According to Ahomee, Akauola had nothing to do with the incident. The child sat by the Tui Tonga, who said, "Toki tamasii eni oku fie ula" (Then the little boy here desires to be clever).

The Tui Tonga made him his chief *toutai*. His nickname (*hingoa fakatenetene*) was Ula. The gods of Haa Vakatolo brought about this elevation. Ula became the appointment name or office name of his successors. His seat is at Neiafu, Tongatabu.

The seat of the *toutai* Leka is at Nukuleka, Tongatabu. His representatives in Haapai and Vavau, Lutui and Akauola, are called Tua Leka. Lutui is said to be of Tokelauan origin. He was formerly *toutai* to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now to the Tui Kanokupolu. Both Leka and Ula are now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

Another important navigator who seems to have been midway between
a chief and matapule in rank was Tuita. A late bearer of the title was the
son of the Tamaha Amelia. Whether it is Tuita, Leka, or Ula who is mentioned [502]
by Wilson (66, p. 100) as "admiral, or rather the navigator of their
fleets," is not clear.

Arranged according to rank and importance matapules living on the hereditary 565
lands (*tofia*) of the great chief Ata are: Shadrach Katoa, chief matapule 624
to Ata; John Laakulu, matapule to Ata; Shadrach Mohulamutefisi, 622
matapule to Ata; Samuel Fakauho; Paul Eke, matapule to Ata; Josiah Tuliakiono, 361 551
matapule to Ata; James Sikei, matapule to Ata; Josiah Pahulu,
Watson Langiapuna, John Hifo Funaki, Julius Tava.

In Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, the three principal matapules in order
of rank are Lutui, a *toutai*, Tea, and Mafifakapotu. If the queen were to [643]
visit Hihifo, Lutui might sit beside her in the kava circle.

ARTISANS AND OCCUPATIONS

Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 91) has carefully listed the Tongan occupations 554
in order of rank as follows: 463

the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially pun- 463
ished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt 428
as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice. [626]

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's 622
house under the direction of a single *tufunga*. 342
466

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haa- 463
pai, are as follows: 551

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiaki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga;* Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka;* Femuiaki, *tufunga langafale;* Mailau Fuopau, *tufungataomaka*.

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children 335
of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states [173]
that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so
strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend sug- [467]
gests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As 554
usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to 463
the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo 428
district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of matapule rank; in fact, the name Eke is a matapule name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, 554
another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were 335
all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title 428
conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a [333]
stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fonualoto*). Should the [764]
chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Faka- 622
uho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the 342
rough and heavy work. 466
335
[602]
[565]

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn 226
off trespassers until the fishing had been completed. 621
[628]

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to
use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times [622]
the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his [643]
overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga. [651]

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from 226
the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps [177]
to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. [784]
It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird [223]
to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of 226
Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told: 176
173

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap.
> Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work,
> and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No [477]
> one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named
> Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu
> in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed [462]
> the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first [177]
> Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian
> immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as 226
specialists in shark fishing: 173

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women 285
(*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, 474
which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared
among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected
houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman 285
may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding 476
that the same assistance may be asked in return.

chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.] 538

539 Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.]

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Moheofo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

276 173 The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice.

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to 276 574 [585] [764] [428]

Cisterns (*lepa*) for conserving rain water for drinking purposes were 312
no doubt shared by several families, though owned by the chiefs. The an- 423
cient type of cistern, which has now been replaced by a concrete cistern, was [622]
a hole about ten feet deep, dug near a house. The sides and bottom of [178]
this hole were beaten with the trunk of a banana tree until they were hard
and waterproof. Water was lead from the roof of the house by means of [414]
spouts made of bamboo sticks split in halves.

Dug wells, like clay-lined cisterns, were owned by the chiefs. (See p. [622]
124.) These were used as bathing places, fresh or brackish water for this [515]
purpose being much appreciated. Each chief usually had such a bathing [565]
place near his residence. He might allow his matapule to use it also, but
not his commoners. Women had special bathing places. A well or cistern [562]
for bathing was called *vaikoukau*. Many of them bore names (25). One [515]
just northwest of Nukualofa belongs to the chief Lomu. [552]

NOTES ON LAND HOLDINGS.

Eua

It is said that originally the northern part of the Eua Island was held 423
by Manumua, anciently a chief of Eua, who was attached to the court of 622
the Tui Tonga, and the southern part by another chief named Valkauta, 173
but that later chiefs from Tongatabu other than the governors sent by the 103
Tui Tonga obtained portions. Both original owners seem to have assigned
portions of their holdings to later comers, as the following records show:

Tuanuku, a tract at the southern end of Eua was so named for Havea Tuanuku, younger brother of a former chief Nuku of Tongatabu, who came to Eua in the Eighteenth Century to be matapule to the governor Tukuaho. Manumua gave the tract to Havea Tuanuku and it is held to-day by one of Havea's descendants.

A Tui Kanokupolu came to Houma in Eua Island on a vacation (*takataka i Houma*; literally, walking about in Houma) and begot by a Houma woman a son whom he named Tupou Takatakaihouma and who was called for short Taka. Manumua gave the lad Houma, the north end of the island for his *tofia*.

Manumua gave as a *tofia* to Hama, a soothsayer (*tongafisi*), who came from the Tui Haa Takalaua, a tract which included Ofilei and Sipangai and adjoined that of Taka. Hama also had an *api* called Halahu, at the southern end of the island. The particular spot where he lived is called Matakiata (Seeing-to-Ata), because in his capacity of *tongafisi* he discovered Ata Island. He told his son to go to Ata.

The modern chief Hafoka of Eua, a relative of Veehala of Tongatabu, says that the holdings that were once his forefathers' are now vested in Veehala, who receives the rents from them. Kalau Island, south of Eua, once belonged to Hafoka and was utilized by the people of Haaluma, a former hamlet in Hafoka's *tofia* near the southern end of Eua. It was deserted in Christian times and its people now live in Ohonua.

Tongatabu

Formerly all the Haa Havea chiefs, as well as the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, had pieces of land in Hihifo. The Haa Havea chiefs received their

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly be- 622
longing to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospitality to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799, a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a [764]
funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643
648
484
431

> When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
> Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
> "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island, 423
> and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 173
> replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai."
>
> Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied when this was done.
>
> Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
> Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Ma- 423
fana in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 428
173

This island belonged to Tokemoana, the son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II. 423
The son of Tokemoana was Toutaitokotaha. The son of Toutaitokotaha was Sisitoutai. 428
The daughter of Sisitoutai was Tongahaapai. The son of Tongahaapai was Joel Maatu 173
(father of the Maatu of 1921). Mafana was claimed by Maatu, who is in the female
line, because male descendents of Tokemoana were lacking.

Ulukalala, one of the great chiefs of Vavau, tried also to claim it, saying 423
that his father Matekitonga owned it. 173

Other stories of land titles in Vavau follow:

Near Makave, Vavau Island, is a peninsula called Utuatea, connected with the mainland by a low isthmus. It is said that formerly this connecting isthmus was absent and the peninsula was an island called Utuatea. When the chief of the district, Tui Afitu, held a big feast of any kind, both Makave and Utuatea had to prepare ovens of food for him. The people thought this to be too great a drain upon them, so they decided to make one place of Makave and Utuatea. This they did by filling in the channel between the small and large islands in a single night and planting trees on the filled area in the morning.

Another version of this story is told:

The island Utuatea was formerly owned by a *toutai* (navigator or fisher) of the Tui Tonga whose name was Fia. Tui Afitu, chief of Makave, wanted to possess this island, so he had his people work all one night to fill in the dividing gap. The trees were planted on it on the following morning. When Fia heard of how Tui Afitu had established his claim, he was afraid to complain and left it in the chief's possession.

A Vavau informant, Tea, told of the bestowal of land upon one of his forefathers:

Atulutuhepalelei had two children who were Teala and Muka. Teala had a daughter named Siuvakalelei. On one occasion they went out to sea to fish for bonitos with hook and line. They were caught in a squall and drifted far to sea. Fortunately they sighted land. This land was the island of Vavau. They went from there to Tonga and lived with the Tui Haa Takalaua. Siuvakalelei grew up to be a beautiful woman. The Tui Haa Takalaua fell in love with her, so he asked Teala for the hand of his daughter. They were married and after a while Siuvakalelei gave birth to a boy who was called Tupouutamolalo. The two old men (Teala and Muka) asked the Tui Haa Takalaua to name the boy Atulutuhepalelei, after the Tui Haa Takalaua's navigator. He did so. [226]

Motuapuaka's seat at the kava drinking is on the right, so the Tui Haa Takalaua took a *tuaniu* (the hard stem which supports the individual leaves in a coconut frond) and stuck it in the ground at the left. This is why Atulutuhepalelei was called Lutui, as his navigator. Atulutupalelei married and begot offspring. The first one was Teala to whom Falevai on the island of Kapa was given by the Tui Kanokupolu Tui Halafatai, who was saved from drowning near Vavau by this Teala. Tui Halafatai's ship was in a distress at sea near Vavau when Teala went to the rescue and took the ship's people to Falevai. The chief appreciated this noble deed, so he turned and said to Teala, "I have no wealth to give you as the token of our gratitude, but I shall give you Falevai here in the Vavau group; the *api* called Haatua at Nukuleka in Tongatabu; and the *api* Tokelau in Nomuka Island, Haapai. Another grandson (presumably brother of Teala) of the Tui Haa Takalaua was called Inukavaatua. Tokemoana gave his wife to marry Inukavaatua, that he might get a matapule from their children. Lapulou (wife of Tokemoana?) later gave birth to a boy who was called Abraham, to one who was called Veamalohi, and to one who was called Tupatongafisi. Still later she gave birth to another male child who was called Lutui. He was the youngest. This

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was 423
the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured 428
articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister
(*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both
sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes
the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and [764]
ngafingafi mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called
koloa kekekele.

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communica- 643
tion easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) 484
says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the [132]
"sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with
the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the
local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same
scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more
frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of
the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs 643
they were assembled in what is called a *fono,* to hear orders from the chiefs. 642
Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to 565
do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. 622
At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; common- [641]
ers could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice [624]
in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, [624]
though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's
orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a [171]
Samoan *fono,* which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering.

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an inde- 622
pendent *fono* so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably 621
consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject 643 634
concerning the whole island, as for instance, war.

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss 622
arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meet- 624
ing of this nature was not a *fono.*

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was 466
given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system

administered by superior chiefs anciently, and now, by the established 466 Government. It was no doubt the system by which labor was requisitioned for the construction of the great royal tombs, the pigeon mounds, the great trilithon, and other works for royal or public purposes. The account of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, is a good example of the working of the system. (See p. 69.) A rebellion against the oppressiveness [669] of this system in early times is cited by Thomson (54, pp. 294, 300). Wilson mentions the *fatongia* (*fadangyeer*) or tax on labor and states that [622] inferior chiefs sent men two or three times a week to labor for the Tui [643] Kanokupolu ("Dugonagaboola"). He also says (65, p. 384, liii):

> In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior . . . their lands better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed; . . .

In 1797, according to Wilson, there were three main districts in Tonga- 622 tabu, each governed by an absolute ruler; the northwestern, Hihifo (Aheefo) 634 district, ruled by the Tui Kanokupolu; the middle, Mua district, ruled by Fatafehi (Futtafaihe) probably the Tui Pelehake; and the southeastern, Hahake (Ahoge) district, ruled by Vaharlo. Subdivisions of these districts were ruled by inferior chiefs. Perhaps in some measure the boundaries of these three districts coincided with the three modern districts (*vahe*) of Hihifo, Loto (middle), and Hahake. To what extent these districts were administrative rather than purely geographic is not clear.

The following account of the origin of the name Pukotala gives a pic- 622 ture of the method of transmitting orders from a chief to his tenants: 203 173 103

> On the island of Haano there are four villages. Starting from the northwestern end of the island, they are Muitoa, Haano or Lotohaano, Pukotala, and Fakakakai. The lord of the island, known as Tui Haa Ngana, holds sway over the first three, but Fakakakai never had a chief and as its name indicates is made up of people from different parts that have settled there. In the olden days when the chief desired to give notice to the people of some new arrangement, he summoned his attendants and matapule to Haano and told them what he wanted accomplished. A runner was dispatched to Pukotala to acquaint the folk there of Tui Haa Ngana's intentions. On the outskirts of the village was a big *puko* tree ("cottonwood") and up this the runner used to climb and yell out at the top of his voice his chief's wishes. It was from this circumstance that the place derived its name: *puko*, cottonwood tree; *tala*, to tell.

The early voyagers mention portable houses set up at convenient places 342 485 near anchorages for the reception of visitors. At the abodes of great chiefs 344 were special houses, open on all sides where meetings were held, public affairs transacted, and foreigners received in state. Tasman pictures such a house, which he describes as a raised and roofed platform (30). This is probably the type of structure designated by the Tongans of today as *falehau*.

tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that 838 they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* [701] as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine*, are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

Some rather lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, 701 both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not 701 expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Takalaua 726 Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a matapule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. [411] Guns were used by this expedition.

Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules 701 as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best 565 fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of [712] Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.)

The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan ac- 701 counts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui 643 Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauulufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the 173

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, 701
before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against 643
Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition 173
goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while
in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant 701
war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors [302]
of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called [714]
malumalu, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang
down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes.
When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be 701
a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged 725
the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away
from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of
mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong 701
or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce [534]
the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of [202]
the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that 505
the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides 701
the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there
are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands.
The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and 721
then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large 505
numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa 648
in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on
Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised 712
an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such
fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken
of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons.
A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays
a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village.
McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore [552]
names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly 725
to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, 726
taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate
of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming
of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp.
363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) 727
indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state 411
of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as [609]
> their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they
> had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred [177]
> during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much
in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then [177]
used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*ualulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*uifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along 725
which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern in- 669
formants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chrono- [124]
logic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the [127]
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupou- [128]
toa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The
following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son [173]
Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

[ca. 1812]

THE WAR OF TAKAI AT FELETOA, VAVAU*

Ulukalala [II] died in Vavau and was buried at Feletoa. His son, Moengangongo, 173 ruled, assisted by the brother of Ulukalala called Naufisi [Finau Fisi]. While Haapai 669 was given to Tupoutoa, the son of Tukuaho, but Moengangongo did not rule long in 726 Vavau. He died very soon and Naufisi ruled in Vavau. He was assassinated by Halaapiapi who then ruled in Vavau. Halaapiapi was assassinated by Paunga, a chief of the Tui Tonga family.

Paunga stirred up war at Vavau against Tupoutoa, who had just been appointed Tui Kanokupolu, because Tupoumalohi, who was Tui Kanokupolu after the besieging of Nukualofa by Ulukalala [II] who is buried at Feletoa, abdicated and retired. And Takai dwelt (or ruled) in Pea, and ruled in Tonga. He spoke to Maafu, Lavaka, and the chiefs of the Haa Havea and Haa Ngatamotua, to Ata and Veehala, to bring Tupoutoa, the father of Taufaahau, and make him Tui Kanokupolu. That was the reason why he was made king [in 1812].

And Takai gave his daughter Pule in marriage to Tupoutoa and they went and dwelt at Lifuka. Paunga of Vavau prepared war against Tupoutoa and they fought and fought but neither was victorious. Tupoutoa went to Haapai on his way to fetch warriors from Takai in Tonga. When Pule heard that Tupoutoa was going, she sent a message to her father Takai: "Tupoutoa is going over to ask you for warriors. See that you grant them." That message was brought and Takai held a promulgation (*fono*) at Pea. He told the people to prepare to receive the visitors and the preparation was made at the green called Vakataumai at Maufanga, Tongatabu. The visitors arrived and food was collected and prepared, and the green was covered with the baskets of of food so great was the quantity. It was portioned out twice, then told to be portioned out three times, and finally the dividing reached seven times. That reception was called Lofitu (seven times).

After the reception Takai arranged with Tupoutoa for Tupoutoa to go to Haapai, while he prepared his warriors and then he would follow. Tupoutoa went to Haapai and assembled all the Haapai troops at Lifuka. Word was then sent from Lifuka to Nomuka that as soon as the canoes arrived from Tonga a message was to be sent. When the voyagers arrived at Haapai everything was ready. A house had been built on the beach, half by the people of Huluipaongo and half by the people of Koulo. [Huluipaongo and Koulo are respectively at the southern and northern ends of Lifuka Island.] And they cooked the pigs and cut them up. All the backs of the pigs were taken and put on the top of the ridge of the house. They wanted to outdo the reception Lofitu.

After that, they sailed for Vavau and upon reaching it commenced the siege of the fortress of Feletoa. When Takai knew that they had conquered the fortress, he asked Tupoutoa, "What is to be done? Are they to be exterminated or taken alive?" And Tupoutoa answered, "Let them live." The fortress capitulated and its inmates [727] were taken alive.

And Tupoutoa said, "Takai, I have nothing to reward your army with. I will leave it to the people of the fortress to seek something for you." They [presumably Takai's troops] destroyed all the look-out places, like Kafoa, and they split the stones, which caused the chiefs [of Feletoa] to be angry with them. And they [the people of the fortress] arranged to assassinate Takai and his people. When it was dark an old woman came and awakened Takai and said: "Oh, Takai, you sleep, but here are the chiefs of this fort arranging to assassinate you in the morning, when you go to the morning kava. In the morning, when it was beginning to get light, Takai called an old woman, his servant, to come. He scolded her, and passed his club to and fro. The people saw and said: "The club of Takai has a longing for food." Suddenly he hit the woman and killed her, and cut her up. The guilty chiefs and people were ter-

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* Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, from account as told by Malio Ahio, and recorded by Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc (33, pp. 77-80, August, 1906).

[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to 173
pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 669
But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek 726
wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will
sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded
and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than
ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai.

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land; as though they ate the war as food.
But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that 173
Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a 669
great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a 164
vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the 731
three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry 726
the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant
of people that escaped. 726
The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it 173
is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads 669
of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that [714]
their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called
Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up
behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great 173
applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people 726
said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Any- 669
way, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded.
Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the
front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear.
As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at
the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid,
because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had
been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could
not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and
Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the
back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly
wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave
warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. [728]
Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to
the rule of Tupoutoa.

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

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[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosaia Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king 173
over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and 669
the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest 726
so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled
in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini,
and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors
of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The
king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they
had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because
they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how [177]
to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting
in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide [713]
and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three 173
vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied 725
them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the 669
shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in 726
the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them
so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it
had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There [411]
was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the
face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was
brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in
his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the
vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the
use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was
a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the
king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery
they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*,
a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who
was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by
the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa 173
saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He [669
made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. 728]

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; [727]
and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu
was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he
should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed 173
there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his 643
party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was 763
done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war.
As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that
they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would
leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it
came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he
died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they 173
should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that 643
his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa 764
was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from
Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was
ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo
as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that
[the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing
cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812-1845]

of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the 173
current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only 643
Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the 764
fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua*
ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha).
That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation 669
of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to 726
Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the
Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to
their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong forti- 173
fications there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his 669
fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been 712
appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* 726
that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was [884]
still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth
year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa
stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they 173
came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The 669
ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on [501]
deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because
Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They
had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from
Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps
to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was [574]
called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had
just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a 173
centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not
still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But 669
Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulu- 726
kalala and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast. Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki. They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came [515]
out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people, the people that had clubbed Taliaufi-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men) to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

[1812 - 1845]

a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu 173
Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling 669
of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go 726
to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news.
He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own
relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai
came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled
at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back,
but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka.

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these
two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the
games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most
ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui
Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and
strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated.
Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga
and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's
warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo*
(person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded 173
over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush 725
outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the 726
fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped 669
and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka.

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata
and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed
Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush,
thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon.
It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to
withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that
they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the
enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they
were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different
places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau
in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the
fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will
leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent
a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect
the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning
the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received
reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard.
But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had [411]
no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they
were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then [411]
they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there
was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They [177]
kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in
return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but
it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka,
Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements.
Now Velata began to get into difficulties.

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) 173
consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga 728
agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler 669
of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and
dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka,

[1812-1845]

because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would 669 173 create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and 728 they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his 173 ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. 669 After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing 726 entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some [411] time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was [501] called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Fuatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaahau. Taufaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

[1812-1845]

assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before 173 they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and 669 the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They 726 came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Mealaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion.

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngana (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many [725] European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded [411] by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there [177] was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace.

Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

[1812-1845]

finished the vessel returned to Haapai and reported that the fort of Nukualofa had 173
been dug. Taufaahau told the men to go and beach the vessel at Haano and repair it. 669
It was then brought and they went to Vavau. The name of the vessel was the Tausala.
The vessel arrived at night and all Vavau assembled to receive it. Taufaahau told 726
of the report that had come from Tonga concerning the digging of the fort. He also
told them that he was going at once to Tonga. They stayed one night, then sailed
(after the Sabbath). They anchored at Fakaamumei, Lifuka Island, landed there, and
went to Pangai. Tutoe was told to go and have the Sabbath at Haano and return
early on Monday and Taufaahau told Lausii and many of the warriors of Taufaahau
to proceed in the vessel Vahaafonua to Haafeva and that he would follow in the
Tausala. We anchored at Haafeva. From there he told us to sail to Tungua. There
we took on board a man called Vaea and some others. Then we set sail and went to
Tonga. That was New Year's Eve.

At dawn we were tacking between Pangaimotu and Fafa islands. It was difficult because there was a north wind. The vessel of the king turned and went before the wind past the sunken reef near Maufanga. The people from the fort went down to the shore and beat drums and shouted abusive language. They shouted, "The surprise attack has been overtaken by the day." We arrived at Nukualofa and remained quiet as it was the Sabbath, although all Tonga had assembled at Maufanga during the Sabbath. [502]

The army landed at Fongoloa when the tide was out. One was wounded but none killed. We cleared the outside of the fort and after that we went up to Takoto. When we returned it was dark. In the morning we went and brought the chief Fohe from Puke and then we rested a little. A message was brought that we were to go to the mount (*sia*) in Nukualofa; i.e., to Mt. Zion. There the army was told that they were to storm the fortress Ngeleia. And Taufaahau spoke and said to leave Ngeleia to him and his vessels or warriors. While Nukualofa's army went and looked from the *tavahi* tree to see if there was any army coming from Maufanga, Taufaahau's army went to Takoto and Taufaahau again spoke to the army there. He told them to raise their hands and swear that there would be no one allowed to escape from the fort (Ngeleia). They were told to go by the marshes and then to rush into the fort. It was a dangerous place that the army rushed into, marshy and overgrown with prickly grass and difficult to walk on. Notwithstanding this, they stormed the fort and all the people of the fort were killed. The brave warriors from Pea that were hostile to Nukualofa were killed. Kaufusitua who left Haapai because he was angry with Taufaahau was killed. Taufaahau's warriors took all the wealth (mats, tapa, etc.) and seized the spoil and returned to Nukualofa. [This massacre took place in 1837, at least eight years after Taufaahau had become a Methodist and two years after he had preached his first sermon.]

After a time we were told one day to go to the sand banks on the way to Hihifo,
and to go openly. We were seen by the fort called Hule. They waited till they had
heard from the other forts, so as to know all about the army that was outside the
fort. A large vessel was anchored near the sand banks. It was a ship that Vuki had
brought from Fiji. They were told to burn it with fire and the army went on to
Teekiu. They went openly, not secretly. They went up from the sea and rushed
on the fortress of Motuapuaka called Kolovai (in Teekiu). It looked as though the
[people of the] fort had overslept themselves. There was no shouting or shooting or
spearing. We bruised and took them alive. Only one man was killed and he
because he was abusive to Taufaahau because he came so often from Haapai. An-
other was shot by Salo. The people were led captive through the sand banks and 173
the spoil was taken away. There was much wealth in the fort (tapa, mats, etc.). 727
The army was pleased with the spoil. But Taufaahau spoke and said, "You must 669
pardon, but you must collect the goods of Motuapuaka and his friends and bring
them here, because they are poor. Bring the goods for them to have." No one took
anything away. We came to Nukualofa and repaired the fort and dwelt there. We
did not seek any more war.

[1812-1815]

173 669 726

But the armies of the heathen came down to Nukualofa and dwelt at Takoto and made war. The king's army did not at first know that there was an enemy's army near. A small band of warriors with Taufahema and his younger brothers went forth for a walk to the place that is called Malama, which was near where the heathen troops from Mua were stationed. They had destroyed the gardens. They met the small band of warriors with Taufahema. It was difficult perhaps for this brave warrior to return to the main army, so he stood and received them. The enemy pressed forward and Taufahema fell. It is said that his younger brother tried to shield him and he was shot and fell also. While the fight was going on, word was brought to Taufaahau at the fort. As quickly as possible the king and his warriors went to their assistance, but Taufaahau was not in time to catch the enemy. He chased them, but did not get many of them. Only a few were killed. Among the slain were Fiufiulelei and a few people. But the army of the enemy had fled. If Taufaahau's army had been able to catch the enemy that would have been the end of the army of the heathen. Taufaahau and his army returned lamenting that they were unable to find the enemy and said, "Lament the blessed [dead]. The enemy is not found."

The Tui Kanokupolu (Aleamotua, Josiah Tupou, or Tupou i Faletuipapai) sent word to the chiefs of the fort of Hule and told them that he loved them, but what were their wishes? Would they accept Christianity or would they not? But it was like ridicule and mockery for them. So they replied that they wanted to fight and this reply was told to the king. Then Tupou (the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah) sent word to Taufaahau that he was to please himself, as he had sent a message to the fort but that they only mocked him. Then Taufaahau sent word to his army to prepare and to assemble at the green called Tuniloa, where he spoke to them. Then Taufaahau said to Vaea Mataele (Tui Vakano), "You will go, Tui Vakano, to your friends and see them and speak to them, in case they love you and wish to live." Tui Vakano answered, "Oh, Taufaahau, don't be unkind to me and tell me to go to them that have deserted me. If they shoot me what will I do. Speak the word that hands are to be held up as a sign that none are to be allowed to escape (or live)." Taufaahau assented, and the troops had to hold up their hands and swear that none were to be allowed to escape or live. "Take good care that all strike to kill, but don't get killed. Destroy the fence or fortification and destroy anything and everything." The brave warrior Longani boasted, "The fort is dead." The army then went forth and stormed the fort and chased and killed the defenders as far as Matahau. The army did not take shelter but approached in the open to the fort, and the warrior who had made the declaration rushed into single combat with the chief Ikahui of the fort, and Ikahui was killed. The [people of the] fort shouted but it was their last shout in this world. The army returned in a line to Naitohotoho where the dead lay heaped up like old coconuts. One man from Haapai and one from Vavau were killed there. [The massacre of Hule took place in 1837.]

Word was brought to Taufaahau that J. Lausii was wounded. Then Taufaahau said to allow none to live, if he was dead. They were to go and fight Houma also. Then word was brought that Lausii was not badly wounded. That was the reason why the army returned to Nukualofa. When they arrived there the army of Moeakiola from Pea and Maufanga were nearby at Haakuma, shooting all the time into the fort of Nukualofa. And the people of Taufaahau's army chased them and they fled to the distance.

After that attack on the heathen they resumed their march to Nukualofa but when the forts of Houma, Pea, Mua, Folaha, and Maufanga heard that the fort of Hule was destroyed they said, "It looks as though nothing that we do will be successful." And they consulted with each other to desert or abandon all the small forts. The reason was that Maufanga was preparing to evacuate and all the different armies were assembled there. They fired and shouted, fired and shouted continually, and laughed a hoarse laugh. That night they all fled. That was to conceal their

[1812-1845]

preparation for evacuating, till all were removed from the fort. There was a man 173
called Malafu in the old fort (Kolomotua) of Nukualofa. He was a very good night 669
scout. At midnight he crept to Maufanga to see why there was no longer any shout- 726
ing. He listened at the fortification fence. There was no one making the slightest noise. Then he jumped over the fence into the enclosure. It was deserted and he climbed back again and walked quietly to the lagoon landing place and swam to Folaha. Here he listened but there was no sound of men. He entered the fort and the pigs stampeded. The people had fled. Then he swam back and reported at Nukualofa that the two forts of Maufanga and Folaha were deserted and that their goods were left. Then the army was told to prepare to go and lie in ambush near Pea.

One day the warriors from Haapai and Vavau were told to lie in ambush on the upper road near Tufumahina, while the Nukualofa army went by the marsh. The Pea and Mua warriors came out of the Pea fortress headed perhaps to Nukualofa and they were preceded by their scouts. If it had not been for that they would have proceeded further forward and none would have escaped. Taufaahau's men rushed forward and fought the Pea warriors and there were killed the brave men who were called by the names Taufaahau, Keiano, Fakatene, and a great many other people. The enemy was chased back to Pea. Moeakiola, the young chief of the fort of Pea, came and stood at the gate of the fort and told all the Pea troops to return and take shelter on the inside of the fortification fence. The shooting continued from Taufaahau's army outside the fence. A shot went through the gate of the fortification and a man was wounded by it and died.

Taufaahau's army returned to Nukualofa and remained quiet. There was no war for some time. Fatu [father of Tungi I] came from Mua and made peace with the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah. Taufaahau and his warriors returned to Haapai and Vavau, each to his own land, and the Tongan warriors remained in Tonga and there was peace for some time. The army at Nukualofa dispersed, each man going to his own district.

Ata's family went and dug a fort at Foui and they dwelt there. But there was 173
not peace between Ata and Vahai and their children on the one hand, and the people 669
that had become Christians and who dwelt at Foui on the other hand, because Ata's
people brought their heathenish preparation for their *inasi* feast through the Foui 778
road. The Christians said that it was not yams to eat, but things for their gods. 726
So Vahai was very angry and killed Ahomee. So the fort of Ahomee took up arms and many were killed in that fight of the big fort of the heathens and the little fort of the Christians.

A message was again sent to Taufaahau at Haapai, that Tonga was at war 173
again. They were told that he was at Vavau, so they went to Vavau. Taufaahau 669
came with the vessel of Paul Halaevalu that had come from Tonga, and the two 726
vessels sailed for Haapai. On reaching Haapai he told Jioeli and Jiosai and all Lifuka to launch his great war vessel and to follow in her, while he went ahead in the vessel that had come from Tonga.

The great warship was soon in the sea and about two hundred soldiers went on [501]
board. They sailed at once. But when they were nearing Nomuka they were not
able to bale out the water from the hulls fast enough, so they returned to Haafeva. [716]
When they reached there, there was a small sailing vessel belonging to Haafeva, the property of Havealeta. They arranged with the two men that a few should go in the small vessel to the war lest the big vessel might not be able to go. So Kavaefiafi and Kulitapa went in it to Tonga.

It was very stormy and rough at sea, and when they were near Tonumea the sail was torn and it was let down, while a small sail was put up. The big one was mended and they sailed with it to Tonga. They nearly failed to reach Haatafu because it was getting dark when they left Atata behind, but after a while they passed the small reef and on nearing shore they found that they were at the sand banks of Toketeke, so they tacked and headed back to Atata. When they had

[1812 - 1845]

landed the wind blew like a hurricane and in the morning they looked out and saw a 173
vessel anchored at Tufaka. They poled their vessel there, as they thought that it 669
was the Tui Haapai's ship. But it was only Paul Halaevalu's vessel. Then they 726
poled the two vessels from Muifonua (Land's-end) to Nukualofa. By now it had become calm.

Unexpectedly Veikune and Taufavaivai arrived from Vavau in the vessel called Tunulousi, so the vessels from Haapai and Vavau all came in one after the other. The army was prepared for the Hihifo campaign. They went and beseiged the fort of Hihifo and the people in the fort remained inside, while the armies remained separate. Some scouts from the Vavau army went out. One Haapai man called Soko, the son of Tahifisi, went with them. There were some people that came out of the fort. Among them was a very big man whom Soko killed. We heard them calling "Fight," as the place where we were was not very far away. We said, "It is with the Lord," as Taufaahau's army were Christians. There was a fight and a brave warrior called Tavalu rushed and beat upon the gate of the fort and the army surrounded it. Meanwhile the enemy remained inside. No one seemed to wish to come outside. Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) told the warriors not to wait till they saw a man before firing, but when a hand was seen to fire, or a foot was seen to fire, or any other part of the body was seen to fire. Fire at anything seen above the [725]
mud fortifications. This was how the fort was treated. They came to make peace from Foui, and when they arrived the inmates of the fort did not fire, but stood round the fortification fence and talked of their strength. In the evening Tui Haapai told the warriors to go and surround the fort. Lest some should escape, he divided his forces, so that there was a watch till daylight and he told them should there be any deserters not to kill them. This was a very good idea. If it had not been for this the people of the fort would have escaped during the night. Any person coming singly they tied alive. There came out of Ata's fort a man and woman to flee, but when they got outside they saw that the fort was surrounded and so they returned into the fort. Only Vahai and a very few escaped. They came and looked about for any place where there was no sentry, then they fled at that point and went to Houma.
At daybreak the army entered the fort but no one was killed. Ata and Papa and all 173
the people of the fort were taken alive. Tui Haapai commanded that none should be 669
killed. Ata and Papa's goods were not taken and only a very few things were lost. 726
There has never been a chief in Tonga from the olden times that had war like that, in 727
which he saved the lives of the conquered and gave them back their goods. Their lives were saved and their goods returned. In former times should the enemy live their goods were confiscated by the victor. (The people of Haapai and Vavau were Christians and now they had taken from the heathen their bread.) Some youths stole, but it was not the wish of Taufaahau. Each went with his friend by the command of Ata and Papa to Nukualofa and that ended that war. As Mua was not in it or Houma, but only Hihifo, it was the war of Ata and Vahai.

Then the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau were told to return, but Tui Haapai and 173
a few remained at Tonga, lest there be another disturbance of the peace like the 669
war of Hihifo. Houma collected Hihifo's fishing canoes at the weather shore. It 726
was not known who smashed them, but they thought that it was Houma that did it.

The Hihifo people waited and planned a war on Houma. Taufahema, that brave warrior who was said to have died at Malama of the wounds that he had received on his face, still lived, and it was he that came and fought for Hihifo at Foui. He came in contact with the army of Houma and was shot as though it was a planned assassination. Then the Hihifo army was chased and Peter Ahomee was caught and taken alive to Houma with some others. That war did not last long, as Taufaahau did not like having war stirred up like that. It was done while Taufaahau was away at Vavau and the report that was brought to him was that the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou was dying. He sailed back, calling at Haapai. When he 173
arrived at Tonga, the king was dead, having died on November 18, 1845. After 643
the funeral the chiefs of Tonga waited for the coming of Taufaahau to appoint

[1845 - 1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter. 173 643

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	[533]
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[534]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

TAUFAAHAU'S GUNS ^A

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor. Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho. 173 669 726 [712] [727]

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*faalalo* or *tafaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-ki-tonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Aleamotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

A /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/
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[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, 173 as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating, Taufaahau 669 called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they 726 asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply.

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled [712] and double-ditched fortress.

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, 797 introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large [716] double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. [501] Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was 173 an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and 797 lasted but three days. 798 669

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. 726 We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, [291] all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?"

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and said, 173 797

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji." 798

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered, 669 726

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades [725] to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed. 669

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [179]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and
bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516]
against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

[1834]

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA[8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people 798
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing 669
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata*, men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau*. They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Tau- 276
faahau's, but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua. 669
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 726
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went
on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei*, a spear; *kolo*, club; *mata*, knife of iron- [411]
wood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for 173
Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to 798
Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fight- 669
ing in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return.
Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed 726
north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Tai-
fonoifua with troops were in one vessel.

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to
Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I
won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't
be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived
at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha
in Mua did not expect him. They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut [524]
shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Tai-
fonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had
connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop
outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was
taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making
kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled,
"We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people
received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized
he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast
as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man
who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was
spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with
a fair wind. They arrived safely.

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When
they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they ap-
proached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the
eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua [226]
people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to
Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He
landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid
beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now.

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266 human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal [177] propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

> There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief 266 Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and 725 these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig 173 a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.
>
> When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The 266 first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 643 story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the 175 tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer [276]

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descen- [797]
dants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central dis- 727
trict of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people dur- 166
ing the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the
Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the dis- [727]
favor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Toto- [622]
late. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162] [173]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later.

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora,* says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high unin- [131]
habited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose 266

[Ata Island]

> bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which 166
> is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant 173
> island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed 266
> to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon
> the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party [501]
> of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened
> to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending
> to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do,
> owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not
> whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another.
> But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts,
> where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years,
> claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern 128
Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island,
and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the 103
title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is
the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, [773]
expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island,
which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea
and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the
face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side 133
of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one 504 487
town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was 361
divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea
was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason
for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from
the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their
farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of
these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming.
Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings
could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama 173
(16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man 166
named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter 484
named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while
fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island
as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to 173
two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island 166
when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures 484
upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the prin- 609
cipal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

[Ata Island]

were but seven aborigines left when Tapuosi arrived and they were all men. 173
Of the total of five Ata informants that I interviewed three had heard of 166
the aborigines, a fourth seemed extremely hazy on the subject, and although 484
he assented when I finally made the question leading. The fifth informant 609
denied all knowledge of pre-Tongan aborigines on Ata. Here is Tupouata's
account of the aborigines and their annihilation by Motuapuaka:

> When Motuapuaka and Tapuosi landed on the beach they saw at once the aborigines who were very tall people, "their thigh bones being the length of an ordinary man." Upon landing the elopers made straight for the people. The aborigines had no fire but appeared to eat their food raw, the principal diet being the fruit of the pandanus and shell fish. The two lovers arrived in the morning and sat on the beach watching the Ata islanders play a game called la'ula'ulo. This game was played by pinching the skin of the back of the hands. Two people played and placed the hands one above another alternately. The Ata people were exceedingly rough in this game, pinching very hard, biting one another, and "even eating one another." Tapuosi was quite frightened and told Motuapuaka that she was afraid of the savages. Motuapuaka took a stick and beat the aborigines who could not fight, wrestle, or throw missiles. He drove them into a cave. Then he pulled down their huts of grass and piled the grass in front of the cave. He set fire to it and proceeded to suffocate the aborigines. For a day and a night Motuapuaka kept the fire burning. He heard the cries of his victims but had no pity on them. It is said that the bones of those people are still to be seen in a big cave in Ata. The aborigines are said to have talked "like birds." In complexion they were like Tongans but were exceedingly tall, slender people.
>
> Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were not forced to depend upon the unpalatable pandanus fruit, for they had brought with them coconuts and yams, which they planted.

Presumably the arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi at Ata, if it is an his- 173
torical fact, occurred in the early eighteenth century. The genealogies of 166
the Tui Tonga family reveal a Tapuosi, daughter of the thirty-fourth Tui 484
Tonga, Fakanaanaa. Presumably Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were accompanied by followers.

There came next to Ata, according to the account of modern informants, a chief named Tameifuna, a man of Tungua Island in Haapai.

> Tameifuna was voyaging home from Fiji and being somewhat out of the usual course made Ata. He brought with him his wife Siakumi, whom he deserted, however, for an Ata woman named Otulau, the daughter of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. When Tameifuna returned to Tungua he left his wife Otulau behind. He told her to
> call the child, which she was to bear, Laufilitonga if a boy, Sinaitakala if a girl. The 173
> child proved to be a boy, who later became the father of the first chief of Ata, Tupouata. 622
> Tupouata claimed his chiefliness on the basis of his ancestress, Tapuosi being the
> daughter of the Tui Tonga. Tameifuna was the highest chief to reside in Ata. It was [643]
> said by informants that Tupouata became "king" of Ata at the wish of the people of that island and that he was not appointed by either the Tui Tonga or the Tui Kanokupolu.

The third accretion to the population of the island came in the latter part 173
of the eighteenth century. The chief Vaea of Houma, Tongatabu, had a 166
daughter named Hehea, who had a daughter named Latuhehea. Hehea 484

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as 484 173
the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one 166
of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought
to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear
naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea,
at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata.
They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to
avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take
Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew
neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own.
Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea
and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight [266]
of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who
dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a 162
man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15, [124)
(in pocket) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born
in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a [124]
census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical
evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable
time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the 582
population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but
few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin mar- [565]
riage was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file [184]
of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a
chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives
as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
23-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

A /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should 103
push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, 123
at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of
Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore
afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers 177
Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion 175
of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an
account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu
on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the
possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel 133
which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or
Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in 131
latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the 634
line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and 622
Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king 173
list as given by the Maatu of 1921. [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on 634
Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which 622
Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when 173
the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is 551
the smoke.

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he [826]
who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason [774]
for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola:

> There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.
>
> A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

[Niuatoputapu Island]

In the meantime Pungakaitafola lived with Fakaositahole (a woman from Tonga), and before she had any children she adopted a little boy named Vivili, and named him Tuise, as her first child to Pungakaitafola. Later she had a child to Pungakaitafola and its name was Tatafu. 634 622 173 551

3. Ikamafana I, fish boiling. Son of 2 and Siulolovao, daughter's daughter of Fotofili Alofi, king of Niuafoou.

4. Pungakaitafola, coral eating everywhere. Presumably older brother of 2.

5. Ikamafana II. Married Latutama, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki; hence ruled in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Maealiuaki was an old man in Cook's time. Latutama was mother of 6.

6. Ngongo, noddy. The first Christian king. Son of 5. [795]

7. Seuilikalaekivalu, gallinule, calling eight times. This is an Uvean name. The reason for its application to the Niuatoputapu ruler was this: the fifth ruler Ikamafana II voyaged to Uvea with his son Ngongo and his daughter Veiongo. Ikamafana II was killed by the Uveans and Ngongo and his sister remained on that island. The daughter of the ruler of Uvea adopted Ngongo. Out of regard for Ngongo the remainder of the Niuatoputapu people who had accompanied him and his father to Uvea were not killed. Veiongo was taken from Uvea to Vavau and married Ulukalala (III or IV). The son of Ulukalala and Veiongo was Matekitonga, the father of the present Ulukalala.

8. U. Latumailangi, who was the ruling chief in 1862 and who died by 1877.

9. Joel Kivalu who died May 14, 1894.

10. John Panuve, the informant, son of 9. He died in 1923(?). The name Panuve is Fijian. [115]

On June 4, 1862, Niuatoputapu was formally joined to the kingdom of Tonga by agreement, although in the days when the Tui Tonga flourished Niuatoputapu was regarded as a part of the kingdom. Evidently in the stormy days in the early part of the nineteenth century Niuatoputapu had attained a considerable degree of independence. Even at the present time the status of Maatu in relation to the ruler of the entire kingdom is somewhat different from that of most chiefs. The late premier Tui Vakano said that Maatu was virtually a king and appointed his own chiefs. At the present time the chief under Maatu is Tangipa, which is a title created by Maatu. Evidently there were other titles earlier, for it is reported of Ngongo that upon returning from Uvea he overcame the local chiefs of both Niuatoputapu and Tafahi Island, and "extinguished all lineages (*haa*) except his own." 634 642

Thomson, in telling of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire to Niuatoputapu relates that a man was struck in the breast by shot fired wantonly by the Dutch. According to the Maatu whom I interviewed this man's name was Tauvaka, a name which has continued down to the present day as a chiefly title which is bestowed by Maatu. It is said that the original form of this name was somewhat different, being Taukuoaka meaning fighting power taken root. This name was bestowed originally by an early chief upon one of his followers who aided in conquering Niuatoputapu. 173 551 [622]

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers
from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they
wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers.
Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The
sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then
the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first
time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of
the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended 776
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [782]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in [484]
which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's
eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?]
smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related
(26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehu-
luni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people
are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant charac-
terized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo*, that is an original god rather than an *ata*
(shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the
deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

[Eua Island]

that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion 776
was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave [266]
called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

Deities of Eua Island

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9,
pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant [825]
knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through [793]
a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the 823
origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a 776
great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The
Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from 173
their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which 823
it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red,
and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelefevalu whose house stood on a
mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776
the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773
tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823
daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelefevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

[539]

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,	Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelefevalu tu'u mei lalo.	Lefelefevalu stands below.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,	Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat rat,
Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,	Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the eel,
Kokafa e api kai tole.	Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

The names Lefelefevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

173
109

TABLE 15. GENEALOGY OF ATA (PYLSTAARTS) ISLANDERS

- 1 Motuapuaka M
  = 2 Tapuosi (both of Tongatabu)
  - 3 Otuleu F
    = 4 Tameifuna of Tungua
    - 5 Laufilitonga M
      = 6 Latufehea (or Lavaki) of Tongatabu
      - 12 Tongaal'i F
        = 13 Moala of Tongatabu
        - 23 Mu'a F
          = 24 Halani Fonovalu
          - 93 Julia Uhalale F
            = 124 Pilipo of Eua
            = 92 Tameifuna
          - 125 Moalafolau F
            = 126 David Taufa of Eua
            = 127 Kavafusi
          - 128 Mamao F
          - 129 Tu'akitau M
            = 130 Charlotte of Tongatabu
          - 131 Pakeiau M
            = 132 Tokilupe of Utulau, Tongatabu
          - 133 Ala M (to Peru)
          - 134 Atamahina M
            = 135 Toakosa
          - 136 Fopanofa F
            = 137 Lutui of Eua
          - 99 Julius Moala M
            = 98 Mary Vetekina
        - 43 Aisea Veamatahoa M
          = 44 Mary Finau
          - 135 Toakosa F
            = 134 Atamahina
          - 138 Simione Kiro M
            = 139 Silika of Eua
            = 140 Pulu of Eua
          - 141 Kolomalie F
            = 142 Don Fonua of Vavau
          - 143 Tu'ukofe M
        - 45 Paka M
        - 46 Tu M
          = 47 Lilia (daughter of 9 but not of 8)
          - 127 Kavafusi M
            = 115 Moalafolau
          - 144 Vakamalu M
          - 145 Nisa M
            = 146 Tokilupe of Utulau, Tongatabu
          - 147 Tapukau F
        - 48 Siofau M
          = 49 Vika
          - 148 John Manu M
            = 149 in Houma, Tongatabu
        - 50 Toa M
          = 51 Kesia of Eua
        - 52 Pusiie F
          = 53 Na of Eua
        - 54 Mangini F
        - 55 Heheahina F
        - 38 Vesapilahi F
          = 36 Taualoto
          - (See nos. 121-123)
        - 56 Louisa Hehea F
        - 57 Simon Kupenga M
          = 58 Sara Nofo
          - 150 Mafi M
      - 14 Tupouata M
        = 7 Maata Filiamama
        - 42 Fale F
          = 41 Aisea Kaipua
        - 59 Selaima Huo F
          = 60 white man
          - 105 Sunia Taukie M
            = 104 Julia Laukau
        = 15 Kesaia Lepolo
        - 61 Kalesita F
        - 62 Fotumali F
        - 63 Langa'akumai M
          = 64 Ule of Niutoua, Tongatabu
          - 151 Vaihola F, of Tongatabu
        - 65 [illegible] F

[End Table (A)]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

173
601

= 41 Alaia Kalpue
59 Seleima Huu F
= 60 white man — 105 Sunia Taukie M
= 104 Julia Laukau
= 15 Keuaia Lepolo
61 Kaleaita F
62 Fotumali F
63 Langa'akumai M
= 64 Ufi of Nieteua, Tongatabu — 151 Vaiheia F, of Tongatabu
65 Fungavaka F
66 Sili M
67 Tu'i M
= 68 Fiefia

16 Mateitalofial F
= 13 Moala
40 Moho F
= 39 Ngalengale
103 Manu M
= 102 Maata Lolo
152 Malani F
153 Kau'atu F
154 Job Nafatacinta M, of Eua
69 Lealeli F
70 Lota F
= 71 Paul Vehi
155 Temalai F, of Eua
156 Hai M, of Eua
72 Lohagi F
73 Luke Veahifaule'o M
= 74 Liten
93 Sara Hauhele F
= 94 Daniel Taufail
157 Kuku M
31 Kepueli Mala M
= 10 Kaufusi
158 Lata F
= 159 Nue
(son of 9, but not of 8)
183 Mañngalo M
= 184 Mary of Maufanga, Tongatabu
110 Melais Vakaua F
= 109 Taitusi
185 Lata F
160 Mañlea Fisifia M
= 161 Toa of Folaha, Tongatabu
162 Foli F
163 Reuben Pilia
164 Peter Nau M
165 John Feke M
= 166 Lauhoni
186 Jeremiah Moala M
= 187 [illegible] Eua
[illegible]
= 189 [illegible] of Tongatabu
167 [illegible] F
= 168 David Mapa, of Tongatabu

17 Ana Lata F
= 18 Ma'ukuana's
of non-Ata birth;
brother of 7; came with 1
75 Meleseini F
= 76 Toke of Tongatabu
77 Simaima F
= 78 David Pea
169 Siosifa M
170 Fanamaloki M
79 Ofa M
80 Taumanu M
= 81 Teisa of Maufanga,
Tongatabu
82 Hikila M
83 Uinise Vea F
84 Lata F
= 85 Ngalu
(son of 9, but not of 8)
166 Lauhoni F
= 165 John Feke — (See nos. 186, 188)
38 Sara Nofo F
= 37 Simon Kupenga — 130 Mafi M
171 Makoea M
71 Paul Vehi M
= 86 Toka of Eua
= 70 Lota — (See nos. 155, 156)

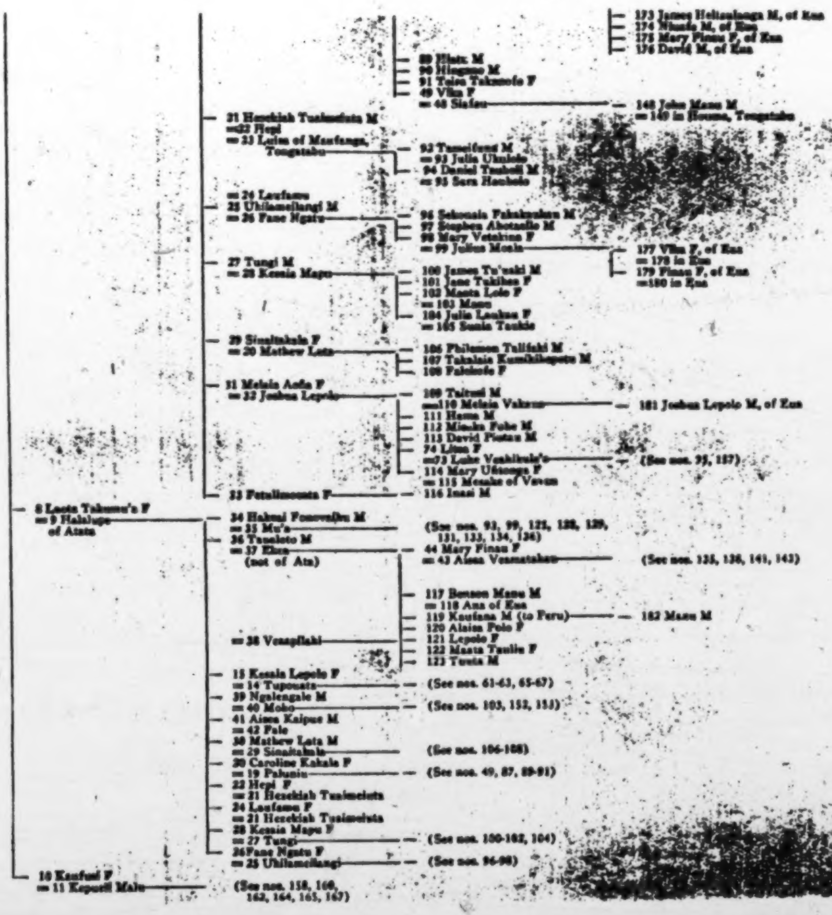
= 7 Maata Filiamama
of non-Ata birth; sister of
19 Palunia M
= 20 Caroline Kakala
87 James Tupounta M
= 88 Mataele of Folaha,
Tongatabu
172 Moses Taulata M, of Eua
173 James Heitaulanga M, of Eua
174 Niuafe M, of Eua

[Ata Island]

[End Table (B)]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

[Ata Island]



173 James Heilaulanga M, of Eua
174 Nisala M, of Eua
175 Mary Pinau F, of Eua
176 David M, of Eua
89 Hlatu M
90 Hingano M
91 Taina Takanofo F
49 Vika F
= 48 Siafau
148 John Manu M
= 149 in Houma, Tongatabu
31 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta M
=22 Hepi
= 23 Luisa of Maufanga, Tongatabu
92 Tuneifana M
= 93 Julia Ukuiolo
94 Daniel Tauholi M
= 95 Sara Hauhalo
= 24 Laufamu
25 Uhilamoilangi M
= 26 Fane Ngatu
96 Sekonaia Fakakaukau M
97 Stephen Ahotaulie M
98 Mary Vetakina F
= 99 Julius Moala
177 Vika F, of Eua
= 178 in Eua
179 Pinau F, of Eua
=180 in Eua
27 Tungi M
= 28 Kesaia Mapu
100 James Tu'uaki M
101 Jane Tukihea F
102 Masta Lolo F
= 103 Manu
104 Julia Leakau F
= 105 Sunia Taukie
29 Sinaitakala F
= 30 Mathew Lata
106 Philemon Tulifaki M
107 Takalaia Kumikikapeta M
108 Falakafo F
31 Melaia Aofa F
= 32 Joshua Lepolo
109 Taitusi M
=110 Melaia Vakaua
181 Joshua Lepolo M, of Eua
111 Hema M
112 Mioaka Fohe M
113 David Piutau M
74 Lina F
=73 Luke Veahikuia'a
(See nos. 75, 157)
114 Mary Ufinonga F
= 115 Mosake of Vavau
33 Fetalimoeuta F
116 Inasi M
8 Laeta Takumu'a F
= 9 Halaluga of Atata
34 Hakuai Fonuvaifu M
= 35 Mu'a
(See nos. 93, 99, 123, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 136)
36 Taualoto M
= 37 Ekea (not of Ata)
44 Mary Pinau F
= 43 Aisea Veamatahau
(See nos. 125, 130, 141, 143)
117 Benson Manu M
= 118 Ana of Eua
119 Kaufana M (to Peru)
182 Manu M
120 Alaisa Polo F
121 Lepolo F
122 Masta Taulia F
123 Tuuta M
= 38 Veaupilahi
13 Kesaia Lepolo F
= 14 Tupouata
(See nos. 61-63, 65-67)
39 Ngalengale M
= 40 Moho
(See nos. 103, 152, 153)
41 Aisea Kaipua M
= 42 Pale
30 Mathew Lata M
= 29 Sinaitakala
(See nos. 106-108)
20 Caroline Kakala F
= 19 Palunia
(See nos. 49, 87, 89-91)
22 Hepi F
= 21 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta
24 Laufamu F
= 21 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta
28 Kesaia Mapu F
= 27 Tungi
(See nos. 100-102, 104)
26 Fane Ngatu F
= 25 Uhilamoilangi
(See nos. 96-98)
10 Kaufusi F
= 11 Kepueli Malu
(See nos. 158, 160, 162, 164, 165, 167)

[End Table (c)]

173
601

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

old mataboole, after having mentioned how the 521
cavern was discovered, viz. by a young chief in 823
the act of diving after a turtle, related an interesting
account of the use which this chief
made of his accidental discovery. The circumstances
are as follow.

In former times there lived a tooi (governor) 696
of Vavaoo, who exercised a very tyrannical deportment 584
towards his people; at length, when 823
it was no longer to be borne, a certain chief 173
meditated a plan of insurrection, and was resolved [669]
to free his countrymen from such odious
slavery, or to be sacrificed himself in the attempt:
being however treacherously deceived
by one of his own party, the tyrant became acquainted
with his plan, and immediately had
him arrested. He was condemned to be taken [687]
out to sea and drowned, and all his family and
relations were ordered to be massacred, that none of his race might remain. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, young and interesting, had been reserved to be the wife of a chief of considerable rank, and she also would have sunk, the victim of the merciless destroyer, had it not been for the generous exertions of another young chief, who a short time before had discovered the cavern of Hoonga. This discovery he had kept within his breast a profound secret, reserving it as a place of retreat

696 for himself, in case he should be unsuccessful
584 in a plan of revolt which he also had in view.
823 He had long been enamoured of this beautiful
173 young maiden, but had never dared to make
her acquainted with the soft emotions of his heart, knowing that she was betrothed to a chief of higher rank and greater power. But now the dreadful moment arrived when she was about to be cruelly sacrificed to the rancour of a man, to whom he was a most deadly enemy. No time was to be lost; he flew to her abode, communicated in a few short words the decree of the tyrant, declared himself her deliverer if she would trust to his honour, and, with eyes speaking the most tender affections, he waited with breathless expectation for an answer. Soon her consenting hand was clasped in his: the shades of evening favoured their escape; whilst the wood, the covert, or the grove, afforded her concealment, till her lover had brought a small canoe to a lonely part of the beach. In this they speedily embarked, and as he paddled her across the smooth wave, he related his discovery of the cavern destined to be her asylum till an opportunity offered of conveying her to the Fiji islands. She, who had entrusted her personal safety entirely to his care, hesitated not to consent to whatever plan he might think promotive of

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

their ultimate escape: her heart being full of 696
gratitude, love and confidence found an easy 584
access. They soon arrived at the rock, he 823
leaped into the water, and she, instructed by 173
him, followed close after: they rose into the cavern, and rested from their fears and their fatigue, partaking of some refreshment which he had brought there for himself, little thinking, at the time, of the happiness that was in store for him. Early in the morning he returned to Vavaoo to avoid suspicion: but did not fail, in the course of the day, to repair again to the place which held all that was dear to him; he brought her mats to lie on, the finest *gnatoo* for a change of dress, the best of food for her support, sandal wood oil, cocoa nuts, and every thing he could think of to render her life as comfortable as possible. He gave her as much of his company as prudence would allow, and at the most appropriate times, lest the prying eye of curiosity should find out his retreat. He pleaded his tale of love with the most impassioned eloquence, half of which would have been sufficient to have won her warmest affections, for she owed her life to his prompt and generous exertions at the risk of his own: and how much was he delighted when he heard the confession from her own lips, that she had long regarded him with a

696 favourable eye, but a sense of duty had caused
584 her to smother the growing fondness, till the
823 late sad misfortune of her family, and the cir-
173 cumstances attending her escape, had revived all her latent affections, to bestow them wholly upon a man to whom they were so justly due. How happy were they in this solitary retreat! tyrannic power now no longer reached them: shut out from the world and all its cares and perplexities;—secure from all the eventful changes attending upon greatness, cruelty, and ambition;—themselves were the only powers they served, and they were infinitely delighted with this simple form of government. But although this asylum was their great security in their happiest moments, they could not always enjoy each other's company; it was equally necessary to their safety that he should be often absent from her, and frequently for a length of time together, lest his conduct should be watched. The young chief therefore panted for an opportunity to convey her to happier scenes, where his ardent imagination pictured to him the means of procuring for her every enjoyment and comfort, which her amiable qualifications so well entitled her to: nor was it a great while before, an opportunity offering, he devised the means of restoring her with safety to the cheerful light of day. He signi-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fied to his inferior chiefs and matabooles, that 696
it was his intention to go to the Fiji islands, 584
and he wished them to accompany him with 823
their wives and female attendants, but he desired 173
them on no account to mention to the latter the place of their destination, lest they should inadvertently betray their intention, and the governing chief prevent their departure. A large canoe was soon got ready, and every necessary preparation made for the voyage. As they were on the point of departure, they asked him if he would not take a Tonga wife with him. He replied, no! but he should probably find one by the way: this they thought a joke, but in obedience to his orders they said no more, and, every body being on board, they put to sea. As they approached the shores of Hoonga, he directed them to steer to a certain point, and having come close to a rock, according to his orders, he got up, and desired them to wait there while he went into the sea to fetch his wife; and without staying to be asked any questions, he sprang into the water from that side of the canoe farthest from the rock, swam under the canoe, and proceeded forward into the sanctuary which had so well concealed his greatest and dearest treasure. Every body on board was exceedingly surprised at his strange conduct, and began to think him in-

696 sane: and after a little lapse of time, not seeing
584 him come up, they were greatly alarmed for his
823 safety, imagining a shark must have seized
178 him. Whilst they were all in the utmost concern, debating what was best to be done, whether they ought to dive down after him, or wait according to his orders, for that perhaps he had only swum round and was come up in some niche of the rock, intending to surprise them,—their wonder was increased beyond all powers of expression, on seeing him rise to the surface of the water, and come into the canoe with a beautiful female. At first they mistook her for a goddess, and their astonishment was not lessened when they recognised her countenance, and found her to be a person, whom they had no doubt was killed in the general massacre of her family; and this they thought must be her apparition. But how agreeably was their wonder softened down into the most interesting feelings, when the young chief related to them the discovery of the cavern and the whole circumstance of her escape. All the young men on board could not refrain envying him his happiness in the possession of so lovely and interesting a creature. They arrived safe at one of the Fiji islands, and resided with a certain chief during two years: at the end of which time, hearing of the death of the tyrant

of Vavaoo, the young chief returned with his 696
wife to the last mentioned island, and lived 584
long in peace and happiness. 823

Such, as to matter of fact, is the substance 179
of the account given by the old mataboole.
There was one thing however stated, which [133]
might appear in opposition to probability, viz.
that the chief's daughter remained in the
cavern two or three months, before her lover
found an opportunity of taking her to the Fiji
islands: if this be true, there must have been
some other concealed opening in the cavern
to have afforded a fresh supply of air. With a 727
view to ascertain this, Mr. Mariner swam with 133
the torch in his hand up both the avenues before spoken of, but without discovering any opening; he also climbed every accessible place, with as little success. At the time Jeremiah Higgins was in this cavern it was nearly low water. He felt a draught of air coming from the left, and on examining the source of it found a hole which he thinks was more than a foot diameter, from which proceeded a tolerably strong and steady breeze, but not the least glimmer of light. This opening he guesses to have been about four feet above the surface of the water at that time. When Mr. Mariner was there, it must have been nearly high water, and the hole

727 probably covered: and even if it were not con-
133 cealed it would transmit no current of air in-
wardly unless the tide were going out, which
he thinks was not the case. At the time Hig-
gins was there the weather was perfectly calm,
not a breath of wind stirring; consequently,
the influx of air must have been occasioned by
the descent of the surface of water within: on
the other hand, when the water rises the air
must rush out. This cavern therefore may be
said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall
of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the
above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing
[696] hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story
[584] of the young chief and his mistress, which
[823] perfectly accorded in all the material points
with what is told above: it appears from his
[173] narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that
the natives give this account of the two lovers
as a piece of true history, not a romance.
133 There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of
the cavern and high up, which is pointed out
as having been used for a bed-place.

Finow and his party having finished their
224 cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed
[517] their proper dress: after which they proceeded
[694] across the country, and got into the public
roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of
[136] shooting rats. These animals are not so large
[565]
[262]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of 823
those rebellious men, who, so long ago, departed 687
from the scene of public tumult, by 829
dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the 484
order of things. Here the moral reflections of 727
the natives are sometimes heard in the following
strain; "Where now are those men who 669
" once held up their heads in defiance of their
" chiefs? where now is the proud boast of su-
" periority? Their bodies lie here mingled
" with the dust, and their names are almost
" forgotten*!—But their souls! how are *they* 823
" affected? are they now the same ambitious 687
" spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in 829
" Tonga, when they animated this silent dust 775
" which is now all that remains of them?—are 669
" they still the partizans of sedition, tumult,
" and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all
" gods, and see with a clear understanding
" what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit [484]
this spot and view the lonesome habitations of
the dead; but it is not often that such visits
are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

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* The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few [793]
of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquir- [565]
ing particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which
they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt,
mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

the chief to whom they are attached. They 565 have the management of all ceremonies. Their [796] rank is from inheritance; and they are supposed to have been, originally, distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king, and other great chiefs. As no son of a mataboole can assume that rank and title till his father be dead, the greater part of them are beyond the middle age of life, and, as it is their business to make themselves acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs, and affairs of Tonga, they are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information*. Some of the matabooles are adepts also at some [463] art or profession, such as canoe-building, or su- [767] perintending funeral rites: this last, though a ceremony, the generality of matabooles do not attend, as it is also a distinct profession. Those few that are canoe-builders are very per- [396] fect in their art, and only make canoes for the king, or other great chiefs. The matabooles [173]

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* The rank and office of the matabooles must be a very great advantage to the Tonga people: it may be presumed to be one great cause of the superiority of this nation over the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, the Society islands, the Sandwich islands, &c.

565 [179] [428] also make themselves acquainted with traditionary records, and hand them down to their sons. When a mataboole dies, his eldest son, or, if he have no son, his next brother, becomes a mataboole. All the sons and brothers of matabooles are mooas.

Mooas are the next class of people below the matabooles; they are either the sons or brothers of matabooles, or descendants of the latter. As the sons and brothers of matabooles are mooas, and as no mooa can become a mataboole till his father or brother whom he is to succeed be dead, so, in like manner, the sons and brothers of mooas are only tooas, and no tooa can become a mooa till his father or brother [796] whom he is to succeed be dead. The mooas have much to do in assisting at public ceremonies, such as sharing out food and cava under the direction of the matabooles: they sometimes arrange and direct instead of the matabooles, unless on very grand occasions, Like the latter, they form part of the retinue of chiefs, and are more or less respected according to the rank of their chiefs. Most of the mooas are professors of some art.

[693] Both matabooles and mooas have the business of attending to the good order of society, to look to the morals of the younger chiefs, who are apt to run into excesses, and oppress the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fooe, places celebrated in the song p. 320. Con- 823
cerning the person after whom the cave is 103
named, it may be interesting to give the follow- [517]
ing account, which Mr. Mariner often heard
from the natives.

A considerable time before the revolution of 108
Tonga, when Voona was governor of Vavaoo, 571
there lived at the latter place a *mooa* whose 173
name was Tootáwi. He was a man of a solitary and reflective disposition; to indulge his humour, he would often take with him provisions and retire to the northern or unfrequented part of the island near Licoo, and there saunter about among the rocks and caverns of the shore for two or three days together. He was so much in the habit of wandering over craggy and dangerous places, that it was said he could climb rocks and ascend frightful steeps with a facility beyond the power of any other human being. On one occasion he was absent so long from the *mooa* that his friends were apprehensive some misfortune had befallen him; and they commenced a search, expecting to find his body lying at the foot of some precipice, down which in an evil hour he had fallen. No vestige of him, however, was to be seen; and after a long time spent in the fruitless endeavour to discover his remains, they imagined he must have been devoured by a shark whilst bathing, and with this reflection they returned

108 dejected to their homes. A few months now
571 elapsed, when one day some carpenters, whilst
173 employed in cutting timber in the neighbourhood of Licoo, were surprised, and not a little startled, by the sudden appearance of the long lost solitary: he no sooner saw them than he fled, and they, a little recovered from their first astonishment, pursued; but it was in vain they followed him among the cliffs; he escaped by a path known and accessible only to himself. Many months passed away, and no more was seen or heard of Tootáwi: several persons endeavoured to discover his retreat: they called his name aloud among the rocks, but no answer was returned excepting the echo of their own voice. His singular conduct formed every where the common topic of discourse, and the most ardent wish of the curious was to find out the place of his resort. Some young females went out early one morning to gather flowers while the dew was yet on them; they extended their walk along Licoo, and strayed into wild and unfrequented places. Whilst they were admiring the sublimity of the surrounding scenery, their attention was suddenly arrested by the appearance of smoke rising from among the neighbouring cliffs, and they resolved if possible to ascertain the cause of so unexpected a circumstance. Animated by the hope of discovering what had been long sought for, they

ascended with much difficulty a steep and craggy place, and looking down on the opposite side they beheld in a small cave the figure of Tootáwi, near a fire, preparing yams. Fear held them mute; not daring to interrupt him, and apprehensive of exciting his attention, they drew back, and descended the way they came. They ran speedily to a plantation at some distance, and announced to all they met that they had found out the abode of the recluse. A few of his friends immediately set out to visit him, and by the directions of the young women they approached the cave, at the entrance of which was Tootáwi sitting on the ground in a thoughtful posture. He did not observe them till they were too near to allow of flight. He appeared displeased at the intrusion, and earnestly begged them to leave him: there was nothing on earth that he wanted, and all their arguments were thrown away in persuading him to return to society. Finding their endeavours fruitless, they yielded to his wishes, and left him. From that time many people went on different occasions, led chiefly by curiosity, to visit his cave, but it was very seldom they found him there; whether he had any other place of retreat nobody ever knew. He lived principally upon yams and the juice of the cocoa-nut; and the chief furniture of his cave was a mat to sleep on. When Voona, the governor, heard

108 that his retreat was discovered, and that many
571 went to visit the place, he issued orders, on the
173 occasion of a *fono* or general assembly of the
people, that no one should molest him, and accordingly every respect was paid to the injunction.

Some time after this, the battle of Tonga having been fought, Finow invaded and conquered Vavaoo, upon which Voona fled to Hamoa. No sooner had the king established his authority in the island than he took a guide to conduct him to the cave of Tootáwi, of whose extraordinary character he had heard, and whom he had a most lively desire to see. He found him, and was received as any indifferent person. Finow spoke kindly to him; inquired if there was any thing that could render his situation more comfortable, and offered whatever could be thought of to induce him to return to the habitations of men; but Tootáwi seemed equally indifferent to all; he wished for nothing but solitude. Canoes, houses, and plantations were to him matters of no value whatsoever; conversation had no charms for him, and the luxuries of life were insipid things. When Finow requested him to select a wife from among his numerous female attendants, he replied that it was of all things that which was most remote from his wishes. At length the king gave him an unlimited choice among the whole extent of

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *gie fow* [*], [294]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to
accept of. The king left him with sentiments
of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the
orders that had been formerly given to prevent
any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the mataboolés share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
513
372
357

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[*] A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 250.

Modern Tongan tradition refers the origin of the name Haamoa (Samoa) 173
to a war between Tonga and Samoa, which Tonga won. After that the name 648
Hamoa was applied, because when asked how the war was going, the soldiers replied, "Hamoa," meaning "to kill chickens," thus derisively referring to the defeated Samoans. I regard this merely as a folk etymology.

That Niue had also come under Tongan dominion is recounted by Ella (22, p. 231), who, after referring to the Tongan defeat by the Samoans, writes:

> A similar Tongan defeat is given by the Niue Islanders, accounting for their deliverance from Tongan domination, also effected by a stratagem which issued in the destruction of the Tongans.
>
> In the Ellice and Gilbert groups there are remarkable histories of Tongan tyranny endured by those simple people. Even in Fiji the Tongan power was felt and dreaded.

A trader in the Ellice Islands, Captain Allen, informed me that the modern 167
population of Nukufetau Island is Tongan in origin, and that Reynolds Island is Samoan. Some Ellice Island place names are Tongan, such as Nukufetau and Niutao.

The frequency of Tongan visits to the windward islands of Fiji and the presence of Tongan blood in the population is dwelt upon by Hocart (32).

That Tongans settled in the Cook Islands seems probable on the evidence presented by Gill (28, pp. 167, 287, 288). The inhabitants of Tikopia (Tucopia, or Barwell Island, Santa Cruz Islands) are probably the descendants of Tongan castaways, according to Rivers (51, vol. 1, pp. 298-362); and Thomson (56, p. 15) affirms that the inhabitants of Ongtong Java, are descendants of Tongans. Shipwreck is doubtless the cause of some dissemination.

THE FAMILY

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

No undoubted word for family was obtained. The word *kainga* (rela- 59
tives) seems to be the nearest approach inasmuch as it is bilateral in application. Modern Tongans use the English word "family" in the form *famili,* and sometimes the Tongan word *faahinga.* The word *fale* (house) is used of the Tui Tonga's family, including all his wives and children. As do Europeans, the Tongans conceive of a family both as a small household group and as an enlarged group comprising collateral relatives both through the father and the mother.

The Tongan household seems anciently to have consisted of a man, his 592
wife, and their offspring, together with any adopted children. Through [595]
polygamy the household might be considerably augmented. The establish-

103 Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Oloua island (V). Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Faingaa. To persevere in being awake [fainga, to do with perseverance; a, to be awake]. Stone near Toula, village on Vavau island (V). One of two stones formerly standing at village of Toula. One stone has been destroyed. The two stones were believed to be the incarnation of the deities Sisi and Faingaa. [776] [823]

Faioalalo. Lower Faioa [(see preceding); lalo, below]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Faioauta. Inland Faioa [uta, inland]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Faiohomohe. The eating of supper [fai, performance, execution; ohomohe, supper]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Faipa. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).

Faitavale. To work without order [fai, to work; tavale, without order]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

[516] **Faite.** The ancient sitting posture of Tongan women, which consisted of sitting with both legs partially under the body and flexed at the knees to either the right or the left. Beach and tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. [173] The beach at Talafoou (new tidings) is called Faite because here a woman sat in faite fashion when conveying news of the murder of the Tui Tonga Takalaua to his children. I have one record of the place name as Talafaite instead of Faite. The stem tala means "to tell"; hence the full meaning would be "to tell while sitting in faite fashion."

Faitoakalali. To scrape the bark of the casuarina tree and use it with water to dye the hair a reddish color [fai, to do; toa, casuarina tree; kalali, to scratch]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord.

Faitokalahi. Large burying ground [faitoka, burying ground; lahi, large]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Faitokolahi. The performance or work of a multitude of people [fai, performance; tokolahi, multitude]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Faituunga. To make a foundation [fai, to do, to perform, to execute; tuunga, a foundation]. Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Faiulu. Ten stingrays [fai, stingray; ulu, ten]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Faivavale. Slimy stingray [fai, stingray; vavale, slimy] Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Fakaaala. Anything which looks best at a distance. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Fakaahotaha. To do a thing on one certain day [fakaaho, to do on certain days; taha, one]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Fakaahuahu. To cause a great smoke, as a signal. Tract between Kolomaile and Tufuvai, villages on Eua island (T). On this tract is situate the mound Ponahiva and near it is the present race course. Perhaps the name refers to the great fire built upon the death of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui in Eua. The Tui Tonga's half brother Fasiapule, returning to Tongatabu island from Fiji, saw the fire and realizing that it must herald an event of importance, proceeded forthwith to Eúa, where he learned of his brother's death. 103 173

Fautapu. Sacred fau tree [fau, a tree; tapu, sacred]. Place on Eua island (T). 103
At this place tradition says Fasiapulo put down the dead body of his half 103
brother Tui Tonga Tuitatui and tied it with fau fiber to make it easier to
carry. Because of its application to the dead Tui Tonga's body it became the 173
sacred fau. See also Holotapu, Motutapu, and Moungatapu.

Fauvaka. To build a boat [fau, to build; vaka, boat]. Tract near Manuka, vil- 103
lage on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island
(H)—Malupo, landlord.

Fave. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Favela. Burned pandanus [fa, pandanus; vela, to burn]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Feaomoevaka. To guard a boat [feao, to guard; moe, and; vaka, boat]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.

Feauaki. Meeting place. Pool and beach on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Feauhihoa. To strive for the mastery in pairs [feauhi, to strive for the mastery; hoa, pair]. Tract near Siesia, village on Nukunukumotu island (T).

Feavaki. Full of holes. Tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Feavasi. Anything which has many holes. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H)—Tuita, landlord.

Fefe. To die (referring to the king). Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Fefinea. Full of women [fefine, women]. Mound on Tongatabu island (T).

Fehi. To open oysters. Tract near Haakame, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Fehiahekai. To hate because eaten [fehia, to hate; he, because; kai, to eat]. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Fehiakaeafe. Hating, but nevertheless, turning aside; [fehia, to hate; kae, but, nevertheless; afe, to turn aside]. Tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Feifai. Name of a tree. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Feilo. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Feiloasi. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Feiloehau. The hunger of the ruler [fe, wish; ilo, to eat (applied to chiefs); hau, ruler]. Tract on Ofu island (V).

Feilofeilo. Wishing to know. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Feingaamoa. Earnest desire for a chicken [feinga, earnest desire; a, of, belonging to; moa, chicken]. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).

Feingaeitu. To desire earnestly a half [feinga, to desire earnestly; eitu, a half]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Feingafono. To earnestly desire the food eaten at a kava drinking [feinga, to earnestly desire; fono, food eaten at a kava drinking]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Feingahili. To earnestly desire the preparation of arrowroot [feinga, to desire earnestly; hili, the preparation of arrowroot]. Tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Feingakotone. To earnestly desire a kotone tree [feinga, to earnestly desire; kotone, a kind of tree]. Green near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Where festivals of the Tui Tonga were held.

Veitongo, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also village on Koloa island (V). Also tract on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tafeuni, Feletoa, and Holonga.

Holo. Comfortable, refreshing. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Pea—Lavaka, landlord; Malapo—Pangia, landlord; Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord; Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Holoanglangi. To dry with a piece of tapa [holo, to dry; anglangi, a piece of tapa]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Holohau. To move in quick succession and arrive [holo, to move in quick succession; hau, to arrive]. Cemetery near Makave, village on Vavau island (V).

Holohiufi. To fall with the yam [holo, to fall; i, with; ufi, yam]. Probably so named from the myth which states that the material of this hill, together with the first yam, was poured down from heaven. A hill on shore east of Maufanga village on Tongatabu island (T); also called Popua hill on account of surrounding tract Popua. 773

Hololafu. To rub off the spray [holoi, to rub off; afu, spray]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Hololanga. The place of demolition [holoi, to demolish; anga, place]. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V).

Holokakala. The scented towel [holo, towel; kakala, sweet smelling flowers]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Holonga. A row. Tracts in and near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V). Also village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Holongalalo. Lower Holonga [lalo, below, beneath]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Holongauta. Inland Holonga [uta, inland]. Tract near Niuafoou island (NF).

Holoosi. Lettting a chain or rope run out to the end. Tract on Ofolanga island (H).

Holopeka. Flying foxes passing by [holo, to move in quick succession; peka, flying fox]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also village on Lifuka island (H). Also hill near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Holotaeafe. Passing by in quick succession without turning [holo, to pass by in quick succession; tae, without; afe, to turn]. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Holotapu. Sacred towel [holo, towel; tapu, sacred]. Place on Eua island (T). At this place a tapa towel fell from the head of the corpse of Tui Tonga Tuitatui as it was being carried by his half-brother Faslapule. Hence the name. See also Fautapu, Motutapu, and Moungatapu. 173

Homatau. Your fish hook [ho, your; matau, fish hook]. Northeast promontory of Nomuka island (H). The name is probably a misspelling of Houmatau.

Honge. Famine. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Hongea. To be short of food. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tangatabu island. (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Houmahuni. Point of land of the huni tree [houma, point of land; huni, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. 103

Houmakalae. Point of land of the gallinule [houma, point of land; kalae, gallinule]. Part of beach at Alakifonua (Alaki), Tongatabu island (T), where body of murdered Tui Tonga Havea was cast ashore. There a gallinule (kalae) pecked the face of the corpse; hence the name. Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). 173

Houmakaniki. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Houmakeviki. Point of land of the keviki crab [houma, point of land; keviki, a kind of crab]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Houmakiutaki. Point of land to which the plover leads [houma, point of land; kiu, plover; taki, to lead]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Houmakotu. Point of land of Kotu [houma, point of land; kotu, an island in the western part of the Haapai group]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract and district near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Houmalalo. Low point of land [houma, point of land; lalo, below, down beneath]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Houmaloto. Middle point of land [houma, point of land; loto, middle]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Houmaniu. Point of land of coconut trees [houma, point of land; niu, coconut tree]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tract, promontory, and anchorage near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Houmangaia. Point of land of crying [houma, point of land; ngaia, to cry]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Houmangalu. Point of land where the waves break [houma, point of land; ngalu, waves]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Houmapolo. Point of land of the chili pepper [houma, point of land; polo, chili pepper]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Houmapua. Point of land of the pua tree [houma, point of land; pua, a tree]. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).

Houmatahi. Point of land in the sea [houma, point of land; tahi, sea]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Houmataki. Point of land that leads [houma, point of land; taki, to lead]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Houmatala. Point of land of the white tern [houma, point of land; tala, white tern (Gygis)]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Houmataniu. Point of land of the hewn coconut trees [houma, point of land; ta, to hew; niu, coconut tree]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Houmatofua. Point of land where the yams are baked whole [houma, point of land; tofua, to bake yams whole]. Tract and district near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract and district near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Houmatoka. Point of land aground [houma, point of land; toka, aground]. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).

103 [173] [823] **Kitekihaamoa.** Rock on Eua island (T). A great rock "like an axe" said formerly to have stood in Eua. The name means "visible to Samoa." The Samoans were displeased at the visibility of this rock from Samoa. They therefore came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which it was easy for the people to secure pieces from which to make axes. Previous to this stone axes had not been made in Eua. The base of this rock is said to be visible on the weather shore. The Tongan name for the rock, which is hard, is toamakahunu. It is described as similar to rock from Tofua and Kao, two volcanic islands, and is said to be of various colors: black, white, yellow, and red.

Kito. Island (H).

Kitu. Island (V).

Kiu. The plover (Charadrius fulvus). Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kiumoeveka. Plover and rail [kiu, plover, (Charadrius fulvus); moe, and; veka, rail (Rallus pectoralis)]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kiutaki. To lead in running [kiu, to run; taki, to lead]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Kivikivi. The name of a shellfish. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H) —Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Koahokaimoa. The day of eating chicken [ko, prefix; aho, day; kai, to eat; moa, chicken]. Rock (T). Formerly in entrance of lagoon of Tongatabu island, on west side of Nukunukumotu island.

Koakele. Muddy foam [koa, froth, foam; kele, muddy]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Koane. Corn, grain. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Koefa. The pandanus [koe, the; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V).

Koekoli. The koli tree [koe, the; koli, a tree]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

Koemei. The breadfruit [koe, the; mei, breadfruit]. Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord.

Koesi. The si shrub [koe, the; si, a shrub]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau (V).

Koetou. The tou tree [koe, the; tou, a kind of tree]. Tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

[173] **Kofakahaangatoma.** The place where she showed off [ko, the; fakahaanga, place; toma, to show off]. Place (H). A place in the Ahanga ford from Lifuka to Uoleva where the daughter of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, slipped and hurt herself. Hence the name.

Kofateleasii. Where there is a small dreary passage [kofaa, where; telea, dreary passage; sii, small]. Tract on Kao island (H).

Kofe. Bamboo. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord.

Kofinekahoamanu. The woman with a necklace for toothache [ko, the; fine, woman; kahoa, necklace; manu, toothache]. Rock (T). Rock formerly in entrance to lagoon of Tongatabu, on west side of Nukunukumotu island.

Kofutoo. To wrap and carry in the hand [kofu, to wrap; too, to carry in the hand]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Kohekoli. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

[173] **Kohi.** To scratch. Place on Eua island (T), where mythology says Maui thrust a stick into the ground.

103 **Makahoko.** A joining stone [maka, stone; hoko, to join]. Tract on Fetoa island (H).

[173] [764] **Makahokovalu.** Eight joined stones [maka, stone; hoko, to join; valu, eight]. Tomb or mound on Uiha island (H). On tract Likutapu; reputed to have been built by twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Telea.

Makahopa. Banana rock [maka, rock; hopa, banana]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

[764] **Makahunu.** Stones for the oven. Stone in the royal tomb Langifoou, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Makai. The name of a tree. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Makakehe. Different rock [maka, rock; kehe, different]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Makakiva. A small stone cave [maka, stone; kiva, a small cave]. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.

[764] **Makakopau.** Stone named Pau [maka, stone; ko, prefix; pau, a personal name]. A large stone, apparently in the royal tomb Langitofaua, near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu island (T).

Makalafalafa. A flat stone [maka, stone; lafalafa, flat]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Makalolongo. The rock of sharks in a shoal [maka, rock; lolongo, sharks in a shoal]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).

[764] **Makaluani.** Stone of Luani [maka, stone; luani, title of a chief]. A large stone apparently in the royal tomb Langitofaua, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Makamaka. Stony, rocky. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

[764] **Makamataele.** A fish stone [maka, stone; mataele, a fish]. More likely, stone of Mataele, a chief. Stone in Langitofaua near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu island (T).

Makaoo. Deep rock [maka, rock; oo, deep]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau (V).

[775] **Makaooa.** Rocks that are near together. A great rock said to stand between the islands of Eua and Kalau (T) and to mark the road to Pulotu, the land of the departed.

Makaotea. Stone of whitish color [maka, stone; o, of; tea, whitish, light in color]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Makapapa. A flat bed of stones [maka, stone; papa, a flat bed of stones]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fohe, landlord. Also place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Makapasi. Stone of hand clapping [maka, stone; pasi, to clap hands]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

[764] **Makapau.** Stone of Pau [maka, stone; pau, a person's name, probably Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga]. A stone in the royal tomb Langituoteau, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Makapulepule. Spotted rock [maka, rock; pulepule, spotted]. Rock (H). In Ahanga passage between Lifuka and Foa islands.

Makasiale. Gardenia rock [maka, rock; siale, gardenia]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord.

Makasialetafa. Rock of the sialetafa shrub [maka, rock; sialetafa, a shrub with white flowers]. Rock on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

103 **Maluauma.** To cringe and bend the shoulders [malua, to cringe; uma, the shoulder]. Tract near Potani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Maluhola. Moving shadow [malu, shadow; hola, to move away]. Tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Tract near Fue, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract and woods near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Malui. Protection, shelter. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Malulaungatu. To relax hold on tapa pinched or held with the fingers [malu, to let go, to relax; lau, to pinch with the fingers; ngatu, tapa]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Malumeimua. What a ceremonial attendant (matapule) says to one who carves pork when he wishes the back cut in two equal portions. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mamafufu. A hiding sea mouse [mama, sea mouse; fufu, to hide]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mamaha. Shallow. Pocket at southern end of lagoon, Nomuka island (H).

Mamahi. Pain. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Mamaleva. Light at once [mama, light; leva, at once]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Mamanamauaho. To possess a lover by day [mamana, lover; mau, to possess; aho, day]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Mamatataemaukava. To see unobtainable kava [mamata, to see; taemau, not obtainable; kava, the shrub (Piper methysticum)]. A heilala tree on or near Mt. Kafoa, Vavau island (V). This tree stands on the Halakavakava or Bridge road.

Mamoe. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Mamomoko. Cold bread [ma, bread; momoko, cold]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Manafalava. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Manahau. Mana of the reigning prince [mana, mana; hau, reigning prince, conqueror]. Northwest-by-west gate of the fortress Hule, near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fatai, village on Tongatabu island (T).

[173] **Manahia.** Sinful supernatural (object) [mana, supernatural; hia, sinful]. Rock on Eua island (T). A great smooth round rock (apparently pillar-shaped) standing in Eua on the edge of a cliff. Nobody can climb it now, as it is too smooth; but tradition says that former generations used to race up and down it. The name is used proverbially of anything large.

[776] **Manaiange.** To cause something to happen to another [manai, to cause something to happen to another; ange, towards]. Tract on Uiha (?) island (H), belonging to the god Kafoiaatu who was incarnate in the kulukulu fruit dove (Ptilinopus porphyraceus).

Manaka. Former village on central part of Tofua island (H).

Manakotala. To like the white tern [manako, to like; tala, the white tern (Gygis alba)]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Manakovaka. To like a vessel [manako, to like; vaka, the general name for all vessels that sail]. Tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.

Manamanaika. Fish in squally weather [manamana, squally; ika, fish]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Manamate. To bewitch to death [mana, to bewitch; mate, death]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Matakeho. Different, strange in appearance. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF). 103

Matakiano. To spy in a marsh [mataki, to spy; ano, a marsh]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Matakiata. To be seen at dawn [mata, to be seen; ki, at; ata, dawn]. Place on Eua island (T). The place where the diviner (tongafisi) Hama lived within the tract Halahu. From this place he is reputed to have made observations which led to the discovery of Ata (Pylstaart) island, the most southerly land of the Tongan archipelago. Also tract in Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). [173]

Matakiena. That traitor [mataki, traitor; ena, that]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matakieua. The edge towards Eua [mata, edge; ki, towards; eua, the island of Eua]. Place on southeastern shore of Tongatabu island (T).

Matakifisi. The edge towards Fiji [mata, edge; ki, towards; fisi, Fiji]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Matakifoa. The edge towards Foa [mata, edge; ki, towards; foa, Foa island]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Matakifotoia. The edge towards Fotoia [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Matakifotula. The edge towards Fotula [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matakihaamoa. The edge towards Samoa [mata, edge; ki, towards; haamoa, Samoa]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Matakihunga. The edge towards Hunga [mata, edge; ki, towards; hunga, Hunga island, Vavau group]. Tract on Hunga island (V). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Matakilangi. The edge towards the sky [mata, edge; ki, towards; langi, sky]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Matakilaotala. The edge towards Laotala [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Matakilikili. Boundary of black pebbles [mata, boundary; kilikili, small black pebbles used to decorate graves]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haatafu, Kolovai—Ata, landlord, and Malapo—Luani, landlord.

Matakimango. Edge towards Mango [mata, edge; ki, towards; mango, Mango island, Haapai group]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H).

Matakimoana. Edge towards the ocean [mata, edge; ki, towards; moana, ocean]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Matakiniua. Edge towards Niua [mata, edge; ki, towards; niua, Niuatoputapu island]. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also northernmost headland of Vavau island (V).

Matakiofu. Edge towards Ofu [mata, edge; ki, towards; ofu, Ofu island, Vavau group]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Matakiono. Edge towards Ono [mata, edge; ki, towards; ono, a tract in Vavau island]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Matakitau. War spy [mataki, spy; tau, war]. Fortress on Eua island (T). A fortified elevation more than 1000 feet above sea level, on southeastern part of Eua; said to have been fortified by hero Tuutaki. [773] [712]

Mataveve. View of rubbish [mata, view; veve, rubbish]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Matekifanga. To die near a landing place [mate, to die; ki, to; fanga, a landing place]. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Mateloi. To pretend to die [mate, to die; loi, to lie]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Matenoa. To die for nothing (applied when one works for nothing) [mate, to die; noa, for nothing]. Tract in Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mateolo. To allure to death [mate, death; olo, to allure]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Matofa. Marked out; beaten, as a path. Tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Ovaka island (V).

Matoto. To be ashamed of blood [ma, to be ashamed; toto, blood]. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Matamaka, village on Nuapapu island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Matu. Name of a fish. Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Matuanua. Old rainbow [matua, old; nuanua, rainbow]. Said to be a Samoan word. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also place on Vavau island (V). Part of the weather shore. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Matusta. To frequent the circular end of a Tongan house [matus, to frequent; ta, the circular end of a Tongan house]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

Matuku. To subside, to sink, to grow less. Tract on Kotu island (H). Island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tracts in and near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H), named to commemorate capture of fortress Velata by Taufaahau (afterwards King George I).

Matutuana. Those old people. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mauavale. To cease being foolish [maua, to cease; vale, foolish]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Maufanga. To possess landing places [mau, to possess; fanga, landing place]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). An early name for the portion of modern Nukualofa which was alone the original Nukualofa. Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF). Also district on Niuafoou island (NF).

Maui. Alive, well, convalescent; applied to several. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Maukuomate. Unwavering but dead [mau, unwavering; kuo, sign of past tense; mate, dead]. A beach on Haano island (H) where tradition says the Fijian companion of the younger brother of the 20th Tui Tonga Tatafueikimeimua expired after a very hard swim, from the island of Ofolanga. See Maumate.

Mauleva. To receive immediately [mau, to receive; leva, immediately]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Mauluhanga. To swim under water and look at [maulu, to swim under water; hanga, to look at]. Tract near Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Mototo. A fish. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Motu. Broken. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Also tract near Falehau, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT).

Motuahala. Old road [motua, old; hala, road]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Motuakolo. Old village [motua, old; kolo, village]. Tract near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Utulau, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord.

Motuamoa. A hen. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Motuava. Island in a passage [motu, island; ava, passage]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NT)—Fotofili, landlord.

Motuavae. The big toe. District on Lofanga island (H).

Motufoou. New island [motu, island; foou, new]. Tract on Tongatabu island (T).

Motuha. Island in sight [motu, island; ha, in sight]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Motuku. The heron (Ardea sacra). Tract on Fotuhaa island (H).

Motulalo. Lower island [motu, island; lalo, lower]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Motuliki. A small island [motu, island; liki, small]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Motulikiuta. Inland Motuliki [uta, inland]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Motuloto. Central island [motu, island; loto, center, middle.] Island in lagoon of Nomuka island (H).

Motunukupule. Island of Nukupule [motu, island]. Tract on Fotuhaa island (H).

Motuokiu. Island of the plover [motu, island; o, of; kiu, plover]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Motuotala. Island of the white tern [motu, island; o, of; tala, white tern (Gygis alba). Islet (H). Exact location uncertain.

Motupuuala. Island in lagoon of Nomuka island (H).

Mototafisi. The filliped island [motu, island; tafisi, to fillip]. Island in lagoon of Nomuka island (H).

Mototala. White tern island [motu, island; tala, white tern (Gygis alba). Islet in great lagoon of Tongatabu island (T).

Mototapu. Sacred island [motu, island; tapu, sacred] Island (T). So named [173] because here rested Fasiapule when transporting from Eua to Tongatabu the body of his dead half-brother the eleventh Tui Tonga, Tuitatui. See also Fautapu, Holotapu, Moungatapu. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.

Moulongo. Excessive silence [mou, a prefix to denote excess; longo, quiet, silent]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Moume. Islet near Tongatabu island (T). In great lagoon, near Fonuamotu, Lapaha.

Mounu. Bait. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also rock near Tongatabu island (T). In great lagoon. Also pier near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). An artificial, rough, elongate, insular pier of stones in front of the peninsular Nukukausiala and extending longitudinally out from it. Separated from Nukukausiala by a narrow channel

103 [173] only a few feet wide. Legend attributes its^A origin to the ashes thrown out of the oven of the great vessel Lomipeau from Wallis island. Also island (V).

Mounga. Mountain. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tuanuku—Malupo, landlord, Neiafu, and Leimatua—Fotu, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Moungaafu. Hot mountain [mounga, mountain; afu, hot]. Tract on Eueiki island (T).

Moungalafa. Flat mountain [mounga, mountain; lafalafa, flat]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also hill on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Moungalenga. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Moungaloto. Central mountain [mounga, mountain; loto, center, middle]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord. Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Moungaone. Sandy mountain [mounga, mountain; one, sand]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also island (H).

Moungatapu. Sacred mountain [mounga, mountain; tapu, sacred]. Island on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. [173] So called because here rested Fasiapule while engaged in transporting from Eua to Tongatabu the body of his half-brother, the eleventh Tui Tonga, Tuitatui. See also Fautapu, Holotapu, Moututapu. In great lagoon.

Mua. The combined villages of Lapaha (the former residence of the Tui Tonga) and Tatakamotonga. Also applied to Eastern district, or Vahehahake, of Tongatabu island (T). Also place on Late island (V). Also village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Muastanofo. Tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Muafale. In front of the house [mua, in front of; fale, house]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Muafonua. In front of the land [mua, in front of; fonua, land]. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V). Also tracts in and near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Muafoou. New Mua [foou, new]. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Muahaapai. In front of Haapai [mua, in front of; haapai, the central islands of the Tongan archipelago]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Mualuvai. First to wash with water [mua, first, luvai, to wash with water]. Tract on Eueiki island (T).

Muamokai. To be first there to eat [mua, first; mo, and; kai, to eat]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

Muanuku. In front of the island [mua, in front of; nuku, island]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Muiesi. The end of the mound [mui, the end; esi, an artificial mound]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Muifaifunga. Higher end of the stingray [mui, end; fai, stingray; funga, higher]. Hill on Kapa island (V).

Muifaitunga. Destitute end of the stingray [mui, end; fai, stingray; tunga, destitute]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

A [Stone pier called Mounu--Analyst.]

103 **Nuaiei.** District near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Nuanga. Beach on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Nuapapu. Island (V). Also village on Nuapapu island (V). West, in his "Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia," calls this island Niuapapu.

Nuapuli. Island (V).

Nuhakau. To extract the stem of an arrow from the body [nuha, to extract a piece of an arrow from the body; kau, the stem]. Tract on either Ofu or Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Nuhamonuha. Equal and equal [nuha, equal; mo, and]. Two stones on the weather shore of Tongatabu island (T), said to face each other.

Nuifonua. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Nukonuka. Name of a tree. Tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Nuku. The land. Tract on Nukunukumotu island (T). Also islet near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). In the great lagoon. Also island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also two islands (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract on Okoa island (V).

Nukualefa. Land of famine [nuku, land; a, of; lefa, famine]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). An early name for the original village of Nukualofa.

[173] **Nukualofa.** Land of love [nuku, land; a, of; ofa or lofa, love]. Village and district on Tongatabu island (T). Capital of Tongan kingdom. The original village of Nukualofa formerly bore successively the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. The name Nukualofa is said to have been given by Samoans who made war on Tonga. Another version is that it was so named by shipwrecked Samoans who were given food there. Nukualofa was originally just a little bit of ground opposite to Goodwin's house. There was a boat anchorage there.

Nukuate. The land of the long grass [nuku, land; ate, name of a long grass]. Tract on Eueiki island (T).

Nukuatea. Desert land [nuku, land; atea, desert]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Nukuea. Land that appears plainly [nuku, land; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V)—Veikune, landlord.

Nukufaiau. Land arrived at [nuku, land; fai, to do, to perform; au, to arrive at]. Island (H).

Nukufeheaki. The land of going astray on both sides [nuku, land; feheaki, to go astray on both sides]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Nukufetau. Land of the fetau tree [nuku, land; fetau, a tree]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord. Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Nukufotu. The land in sight [nuku, land; fotu, to appear in sight]. Tract on Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Nukuha. The land in sight [nuku, land; ha, to appear in sight]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.

Nukuhake. The ascending land [nuku, land; hake, ascend]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

103 **Tofaki.** Deep. A rest mound, esi, on or near Mt. Kafoa and close to the water called Finevalienga, on Vavau island (V).

Tofaiefo. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Tofanga. To arrive suddenly, as a vessel. Island (H).

Tofe. The pearl oyster. Tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).

Tofeki. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Tofeloa. The name of a shellfish. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Tofi. To cut in small pieces. Tract near Lavengatonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tofia. An inheritance, a patrimony. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.

Tofiafoou. A new inheritance [tofia, inheritance; foou, new]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Tofiauta. An inland inheritance [tefia, inheritance; uta, inland]. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

[773] **Tofoa.** To seek for witchcraft. Tract near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Muitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also waterhole on Koloa island (V), near which, mythology says, Maui Atalanga shoved up the sky. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Site of a sanctuary, hufanga.

Tofoauta. The inland Tofoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Tofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tofonga. An unusual place [tofo, out of the ordinary order; nga, place]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Tofua. To bake the yams whole. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also island (H). Also tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Tofuai. To run. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the great lagoon.

Tohenga. The mark in the road where anything has been dragged. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Tohongamata. Mark in the road where a war club has been dragged [tohonga, the mark in the road where anything has been dragged; mata, a war club]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Toi. A tree (Alphitonia excelsa). Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Ahau—Lasike, landlord, Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Foui—Vahai, landlord, Hofoa, and Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Toiao. Cloud hidden [toi, to hide; ao, cloud]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

[173] **Toipeka.** Drop of blood of the flying-fox [toi, a drop; peka, flying-fox]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). So named because here the eleventh Tui Tonga Tuitatui raped his virgin sister, the female Tui Tonga Latutama, after she had climbed up on to a platform with him to see a fleet of vessels which he falsely said was approaching. An attendant of Latutama's standing below inquired what the blood was she saw trickling down. Tuitatui replied: "It is from a flying-fox." Hence the name Toipeka. Also written Toiipeka.

Tokulu. To crouch. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also island (H). 103

Tolimoto. To pluck buds [toli, to pluck; moto, bud]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Tolo. The name of a fish. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Toloa. Duck, (Anas superciliosa). Tract on Eueiki island (T). Also district on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. In southeastern part. Also tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord. Also tract on Ovaka island (V). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Toloafanguna. To wake the duck. Plain on Vavau island (V).

Toloafisi. Fijian duck [toloa, duck; fisi, Fijian]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Toloamaui. The throws of Maui [tolo, a throw; a, of; maui, the demigod]. Stones on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore. Reputed to have been thrown by Maui Kisikisi at the gigantic moa as it flew from Eua island. [773]

Toloatonga. Tongan duck [toloa, duck; tonga, Tongan]. Tracts near Nukualofa and Folaha, villages on Tongatabu island (T).

Toloea. Tolo fish appearing plainly [tolo, a kind of fish; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Toloke. To throw in a quarrel [tolo, to throw; ke, a quarrel]. Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord. Also tract near Muitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also pigeon mound near Muitoa, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord. Also tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Tolongia. Thrown at. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Tolopena. The water where the nineteenth Tui Tonga, Havea I., was murdered while swimming. Water near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T). [173]

Tolu. Three. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Tolumalu. Three relaxed [tolu, three; malu, to relax, to let go]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Tolungafata. Three panting with a bier [tolu, three; nga, to pant; fata, bier]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Tolungahaku. Three panting with the gar fish [tolu, three; nga, to pant; haku, the gar fish]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Tolungamaka. Three panting with a rock [tolu, three; nga, to pant; maka, rock]. Place on Kao island (H).

Tolungohua. Tract near Matavai, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT).

Tolungouta. Inland Tolungo [uta, inland]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Toma. Vanity. Tract near Kolovai, village Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord, Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

103 **Umuifi.** An oven of Tahitian chestnuts [umu, earth oven; ifi, Tahitian chestnut]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Umuika. An oven of fish [umu, earth oven; ika, fish]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Umuiivata. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Umuna. Oven of fear [umu, oven; na, fear, respect]. Place near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (V). Also tract on Vavau island (V). Location of Admiralty Coaling Ground near Ahanga boat passage between Vavau and Pangaimotu islands. Tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Toula, Utui—Veikune, landlord, and Mataika.

[773] **Umuomuni.** The oven of Muni [umu, oven; o, of; muni, a legendary hero]. A hole in a rock on the shore of Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), alleged to have been used as an oven by hero Muni.

Umusi. Oven of si root [umu, earth oven; si, a plant]. Shore at terminus of road at lagoon shore nearest Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.

Umutakitaki. Basket of cooked food carried in the hand [umu, basket of cooked food; takitaki, carry with one hand]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.

Umutalitunu. Basket of cooked food prepared for visitors by broiling and toasting [umu, basket of cooked food; tali, to prepare food for visitors; tunu, to toast, to broil]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.

[173] **Umutangata.** Oven of men [umu, earth oven; tangata, men]. Place in Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), near junction of three roads from the east. Here, according to one tale, the chief Vahai roasted commoners captured in war. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Unia. Collected together. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Unufi. Caterpillar. Tract in Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V).

[773] **Ungakoa.** To hide in the froth of the waves [unga, to hide, to be screened; koa, froth, foam]. A place on the edge of the cliffs of the weather side of Eua island (T), close to Tapatapaao. The name is that of a huge mythical shellfish pulled out of the rock and slain by Maui Kisikisi. The ungakoa dwelt in a big cleft in the rock. His flesh was in the rock and the rock was his shell.

Unganga. Crowded, full. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Uofue. A cluster of fue shrubs [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; fue, a shrub]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Uoleva. Crowded at once [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; leva, at once]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also island (H). Possibly the name refers to the people assembled here by the Tui Tonga's representative Matanvave to build pigeon mounds. Also two tracts near Hihifo and Pangai, villages on Lifuka island (H).

Uonuku. An indiscriminate assembly of lands [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; nuku, land]. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Uonukuhihifo. Western Uonuku [uonuku (see preceding); hihifo, western]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Upolu. Samoan Upolu. The Tongan equivalent is Kupolu. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Uta. Inland. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

103 **Vakaifa.** To discern the pandanus [vakai, to discern; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Vakaikaevete. To look if untied [vakai, to look; kae, if; vete, to untie, to loose]. A large telie ("almond") tree on right of road going up incline, Mt. Kafoa, on Vavau island (V).

Vakainiu. To observe the coconut [vakai, to observe; niu, coconut]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Vakainuliku. A boat swamped near the weather shore [vaka, boat; inu, to drink; liku, weather shore]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.

Vakaiua. To descern two [vakai, to discern; ua, two]. Tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Vakaliu. A return boat [vaka, boat; liu, to return]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Vakaloa. Long boat [vaka, boat; loa, long]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Vakamei. Breadfruit boat [vaka, boat; mei, breadfruit]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also two tracts on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili and Fusitua, landlords.

Vakameifisi. Boat from Fiji [vaka, boat; mei, from; fisi, Fiji]. Tract near Veitongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Vakameihakau. Boat from the reef [vaka, boat; mei, from; hakau, reef]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Vakameilima. Five boats of breadfruit wood [vaka, boat; mei, breadfruit; lima, Samoan for five]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Vakameimoana. Boat from the ocean [vaka, boat; mei, from; moana, ocean]. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Vakameimuli. Vessel from foreign parts [vaka, vessel; mei, from; muli, a foreigner]. Tract on Tofua island (H).

Vakameinomuka. Vessel from Nomuka [vaka, vessel; mei, from; nomuka, an island of the Haapai group]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Vakamouafu. Vessel heavily laden with spray [vaka, vessel; mou, heavy laden, as a vessel; afu, the spray of the sea]. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Vakanaa. Boat of broken food brought from a distance for friends [vaka, boat; naa, used of broken food brought from a distance for friends]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

[173 **Vakaniua.** Niua vessel [vaka, vessel; niua, Niuatoputapu island]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also islet in inlet at Fonuamotu, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Here was moored the Tui Haatakalaua's vessel, which was also called Vakaniua—the boat that carried Fotofili to Niuafoou where he and his descendants became rulers.

Vakangotoika. Vessel swamped by fish [vaka, vessel; ngoto, to swamp; ika, fish]. Place at anchorage of Pahu, Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Vakano. Borrowed boat [vaka, boat; no, to borrow]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Vakaono. Six vessels [vaka, vessel; ono, six]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Vakapola. Vessel of platted coconut leaves [vaka, vessel; pola, the coconut leaf platted for thatch, and other purposes]. Tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

539 773 mountains on the Ata that was hauled from the sea: "And leaping ashore, he [Maui] sprang to the top of the highest mountain, and stamped upon it with his feet. And, as he stamped, the earth shook, and the mountain crumbled away beneath his feet, and rolled down into the valleys below, till they were filled up to the level on which he stood. This he did to four of the seven hills, leaving the other three untrodden, for he grew weary of the work."

When Tongatabu was hauled to the surface, Maui trod down all of the hills[10] "into rich and fertile plains; on which, even as he trod, there sprang up grass and flowers and trees, while the earth swelled into hillocks round his feet, bursting with yams, and sweet potatoes, and all manner of food." Here we have an origin of the food plants quite different from that set forth in the tales that I obtained. The sky, foreign lands, and a buried human body are the sources given in the tales here published.

539 [772] The concept of multiple skies is found in Tonga and is clearly set forth in a recitative (*fakaniua*) given by the crippled man Taufa, and in the archives of the Methodist church by Dr. J. E. Moulton. The Tongan text, with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, follows:

Ke fanongo mai e tama hiva ni,
Kae fai siemanu lau langi:
Langi tuo taha, langi tuo ua
Teke e Maui ke maolunga,
Kau eva fakamofutofuta;
Ko hotau fonua oku ua,
Ko langi ni pea mo lolofonua.
Langi tuo tolu, langi tuo fa,
Nofo ai a ufia mo lata,
Koe langi kehe langi uha
Ne ne ufia langi maa.
Langi tuo nima, langi tuo ono,
Nofo ae laa mate toto,

Sii fetuu ene fakaholo
Ne hange ha tuinga tokotoko;
Pea hanga hake ki ai e nofo.

Langi tuo fitu, langi tuo valu,
Nofo ai a Hina mo Sinilau;
Koe langi ape e tamutamu
Ha mea e leo lahi ange fau,
Oka ita oka longolongo tau,
Langi tuo hiva, tuo hongofulu,
Koe langi ne fulufulu motuku,
Koe langi ape oku uulu,
Kae fefei e tala tuku.

Listen, O poet,
While I tell of the skies:
First sky and second sky
Pushed by Maui to be high,
So that I could walk stately;
Our lands are two,
The sky and the underworld.
Third sky and fourth sky,
Dwell there the covered and inclouded,
The different sky, the sky that rains
And that hides the cloudless sky.
Fifth sky and sixth sky,
Dwells there the sun, who dies in crimson,
The little stars moving in succession
Like a string of walking-sticks;
And look up to them the dwellers on earth.
Seventh sky and eighth sky,
Dwell there Hina and Sinilau;
The sky of the thunder
With a great loud voice,
When angry or giving omen of war.
The ninth sky and the tenth,
The sky feathery like herons,
The sky of uncertain rumbling,
Perhaps telling of parting.

[173] **The three following short cosmogonical tales obtained from living Tongans are of interest. The first is really a divine genealogy and was told**

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[10] Op. cit., page 145.

by John Takataka, of Hihifo, Lifuka island, Haapai. It is of special interest because it makes two chiefs, besides the Tui Tonga, the descendants of gods—namely, the chief Faingaa and the famous Loau. Descent from the Maui is ascribed to Faingaa and is corroborated by the published tales of the Maui.[20] Takataka's derivation of the chief Loau from Hikuleo, the great god of Pulotu, the world of the departed, lacks corroboration, as does the statement that the great chiefs called Tui Haatakalaua constituted Loau's descendants. 539 173

Takataka's tale follows: 539

Kele and Limu drifted to Pulotu and wedded. Two children were born, a male named Toiukamea and a female named Maimoaalongona. These two married and twins were born, a male child named Taufulifonua and a female child. Later appeared the twins Fonuuta and Fonutahi, and also the twins known as Velesii and Velelahi. These twins intermarried.

Taufulifonua wedded his twin sister, from whom sprang Havea Hikuleo. Fonuuta and Fonutahi married and from their union came the Maui. Velesii and Velelahi married and from them the Tangaloa arose.

When Taufulifonua was close unto death he divided the universe, saying: "The Tangaloa shall rule the sky. The domain of the Maui will be this world. Havea Hikuleo, thou shalt rule Pulotu and this world." The path to Pulotu is between Eua and Kalau islands and a great rock known as Makaooa stands there.

The descendants of the Tangaloa were the Tui Tonga. The descendant of Maui Motua was Faingaa of the Tui Talau. The descendant of Havea Hikuleo was Loau, from whom arose the Tui Haatakalaua. 539 173

The second tale, told by Mesake Lomu, of Fotua, Foa island, Haapai, speaks of the three Maui (Motua, Atalanga and Kisikisi) as brothers and bestows upon them their sister Hina. In most versions they are treated as grandfather, father and son. Hina bore to Kisikisi four children—Tangaloa, Io, Kohai and Afulunga. From the standpoint of the published Tongan cosmogony, the tale is a hopeless jumble. Mesake Lomu's story is as follows: 539

The husband of the goddess Heimoana, whose incarnation was the sea snake, was Malekulaulua. Heimoana's first son was Maui Motua, her second son was Maui Atalanga, her third son Maui Kisikisi, and her fourth child was Hina, a girl.

After attaining maturity the sons went to their work, leaving Hina and their parents at home. One day, while Hina was thus remaining at home, Maui Kisikisi hung chesnut (*ifi*) leaves about his neck and stole back to his parents' house. He touched Hina's chest just above her breasts and she

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[20] Reiter, P., Anthropos, vol. XIV-XV, 141, 1919-1920; Collocott, E. E., Folk-Lore, vol. XXXII, 57, 1921.

539 became pregnant. She was delivered of a male child, who was called Tangaloa. Again she became pregnant and gave birth to Io. Once more she gave birth to a girl, who was called Kohai, and lastly to a male child, [173] who was named Afulunga. The offspring of Hina intermarried and from their progeny sprang the dynasty of Tui Tonga.

A third cosmogonical tale was related by Sophia Pahulu, of Faleloa, Foa island, Haapai. It refers to the land-fishing of a pair of twins which resulted in the appearance of Tongatabu. The transformation of a goddess and a man into cats and later into rats gives the story a rather un-Tongan flavor. The narrative follows:

This is the story of the fishhook that pulls up lands.

There was an old god named Tongamatamoana, who had a daughter in this world. His daughter, however, had been taken away and placed in the sky.

A house was situated at the foot of the road that led to the girl's abode. The road itself was a fishing line. Many people had been killed upon it. However, a goddess came along and essayed the journey up to the girl's abode, taking with her a man. The two changed themselves into cats. The two cats climbed almost to the girl's abode. The road became too narrow for further progress, so they transformed themselves into rats and without difficulty entered the house where the girl dwelt.

The goddess now said to the man who had accompanied her: "I have no further regard for you. You have safely reached this woman. So, farewell." The goddess descended again and the man remained in the sky and married the girl, the daughter of Tongamatamoana. In due course the woman became pregnant and bore twins.

After a time the twins complained of their abode and said that they were tired of living in space. They inquired of their mother what they might do to get some land on which to reside. She told them to go to their grandfather, Tongamatamoana, in the world, and obtain from him the fish hook that hauls up land. Thereby could they pull up some land upon which to live. Their mother further informed them that the old man possessed numerous fish hooks, but that the hook for pulling up land was different from all the others, being dull and old in appearance.

The twins proceeded to their grandfather's abode. The old man told them to take one of the bright, shiny hooks, but to leave him the dull, old hook. The twins, however, stole the dull hook, because they knew that that was the one for pulling up land. When the old man discovered that they were making off with his precious hook, he called to them: "Go, and the land that you pull up shall be called Tonga [Tongatabu]." So the twins pulled up Tongatabu and brought their parents down from the sky to reside there.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kisikisi kae tuli e Maui Motua ki Pulotu. Pea koe ngata ia o eku talanoa kovi kia Maui, ka oka hala mou kataki pe he koe kii sii au.

him to Pulotu. That is the end of my poor story about Maui. Please excuse me if it is wrong, for I am only of the present day. 539

An account of the exploits of the Maui, obtained from Wellington Lavaka of Haakio, Vavau, states that before the sky was pushed up to its present height it was supported by certain plants which were known as *teve* (Amorphophallus). In Lavaka's account it is Maui Kisikisi who raises the sky, not Maui Atalanga. In the sequel concerning Tui Motuliki it is stated that he landed first at Tefisi in Hihifo, Tongatabu. "Tui Motuliki [173] and his friends were the origin of the Haa Falefa," the attendants of the Tui [644] Tonga.

Other tales about the Maui were related by a number of informants, but apparently all were based on the published Tongan versions with two exceptions that introduce new incidents. One told by Moli, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai, attributes the sky-raising to Maui Motua instead of Maui Atalanga because his oven poker got jammed in the sky. This motive is reminiscent of Philippine tales in which the sky was said to be so low that a spear could not be plied (Ifugao), that men bumped their heads against it (Tagalog), and that a woman struck it with her rice pestle (Manobo).[24] 538 171

Moli's version of the sky-raising is as follows: 539

It is said that the sky was low in olden days. The elder Maui (Maui Motua) was preparing his earth oven. When he used his poker it got jammed in the sky. Then he reversed his poker and pushed up the sky until it was very high. They say the reason of the sky being black is because the end of Maui's oven stick was dirty.

An unpublished Maui episode was related by Silas, of Feletoa, Vavau, and recounts the origin of two islets in the Vavau group. The narrative follows:

Maui resided at Ngaunoho in Utungake island, Vavau group, and lived there with his wife and children. Every day he only walked around, and his wife and children wept. He at last inquired of them the reason of their tears. So his wife replied: "We are weeping because you always go away and leave us starving."

"Very well," said Maui, "I will go and plant something for us to eat." He went between Ngaunoho and Utungake and he started digging the soil there. He dug so hard that the land rocked and his children and his wife cried.

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[24] Dixon, R. B., The Mythology of all Races: Oceanic Mythology, p. 178, 1916, Marshall Jones Company, Boston. [113]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TALES ABOUT THE TUI TONGA

A considerable number of tales relate to the Tui Tonga, or kings of 173
Tonga. Not only is the origin of the dynasty related, but there are also a 643
number of stories of the adventures and achievements of the various kings. 538
Despite the infrequent references to kings in some of the stories, the tales
have been arranged so far as possible in chronological order, basing the [128]
arrangement on the list of thirty-nine kings (page 35). In some stories the king himself is not mentioned, but other characters in the story make clear the reign to which it refers. Thus in "The Narrative About Sangone," the Tui Tonga Tuitatui is not mentioned, but his half brother Fasiapule plays a prominent part in the tale.

The placing of the Tui Tonga tales between the Maui cycle and cos- 128
mogony, on the one hand, and the tales about various other gods, on
the other hand, perhaps requires a few words of justification, since many 538
of the Tui Tonga tales do not transcend the realm of mortal experience.
But the fact that the first Tui Tonga is of semi-divine origin, being the [643]
son of one of the Tangaloa, makes this position the natural one, at least for the story of this one king. Inasmuch as the narrative does not cease with him, it appears that this is the best position in which to place all of the Tui Tonga stories.

In the following pages there are first given two general accounts of 128
the Tui Tonga, one furnished by Father Reiter, the other by the Rev. Jonathan Fonua. These two accounts are the same in general trend, but the first is the fuller. I present the second account because of the original Tongan text which seems well worth recording.

THE FIRST TUI TONGA[23]

539

There first appeared on the earth the human offspring of a worm or grub, and the head of the worm became Tui Tonga. His name was Kohai and he was the first Tui Tonga in the world. The descendants of the worm became very numerous.

A large casuarina[23a] tree grew on the island of Toonangakava, between the islands of Mataaho and Talakite in the lagoon of Tongatabu. This great casuarina tree reached to the sky, and a god came down from the sky by this great tree. This god was Tangaloa Eitumatupua.

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[23] This tale is a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of the original Tongan as related [113]
by Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale and published by Father Francis Reiter in the Catholic
magazine Koe Fafagu, vol. 5, pp. 6-12, 26-32, 41-48, 60-64, 1907. The arrangement of the ma- [128]
terial has been altered slightly in order to secure proper chronological sequence. The original Tongan accounts are under two headings: (1) Koe Tupuaga oe Tuitoga (pp. 6-12), by Taufapulotu; (2) Koe talanoa kihe g. Tuitoga, by Tongavalevale.

[23a] The casuarina is generally known in the Pacific islands as ironwood.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 game." They searched, but could not find him at the entertainment. So the woman returned to Eitumatupua and reported: "The lad is not to be found."

Eitumatupua suspected that Ahoeitu's brothers had killed the lad. Therefore, he sent a message for them to come. He asked them: "Where is the lad?" and they lied, saying: "We do not know." Then their father said: "Come and vomit." A big wooden bowl was brought. They were told to tickle their throats, so that they would vomit up the flesh of the lad and also the blood; in fact, all the parts they had eaten. They all had their throats tickled and they vomited, filling the wooden bowl.

They were then asked: "Where is his head?" The murderers replied: "We threw it into the bush, into the *hoi* bush." Then the god Eitumatupua sent a messenger to seek the head of Ahoeitu. They also collected his bones and put them together with his head into the bowl and poured water on to [278] the flesh and blood. Then were plucked and brought the leaves of the *nonufiafia* tree. The leaves of this tree placed on a sick person possess the virtue of bringing immediate recovery, even if the person is nigh unto death. So the *nonufiafia,* or the Malay apple (*Eugenia malaccensis*), leaves were covered over the remains of Ahoeitu, and the bowl containing them was taken and put behind the house. They visited the bowl continually and, after a time, poured out the water. The flesh of his body had become compact. They visited the bowl again and again and at last found him sitting up in it.

Then they told Eitumatupua that Ahoeitu was alive, for he was sitting up. They were told to bring him into the house, into the presence of his father. Then Eitumatupua spoke, ordering that the brothers of Ahoeitu, who ate him, be brought. Their father then addressed them.

"You have killed Ahoeitu. He shall descend as the ruler of Tonga, while you, his brothers, remain here." But the brothers loved Ahoeitu, as they had just realized that he was their real brother and had one father with them. Therefore, they pleaded with their father to be allowed to accompany Ahoeitu, a plea which was finally granted.

539 173 643 Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first (divine) Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced.

539 173 644 Ahoeitu's brothers followed and joined him. They were Talafale, Matakehe, Maliepo, Tui Loloko, and Tui Folaha. Eitumatupua told Talafale that he was to go to the earth, but that he would not be Tui Tonga, as he was a murderer. He was, however, to be called Tui Faleua. Eitumatupua said that Maliepo and Matakehe were to go to guard the Tui Tonga. Tui Loloko and Tui Folaha were to govern. Should a Tui Tonga die, they were to

have charge of all funerary arrangements, just as though it were the funeral 539 173
of the Tui Langi (King of the Sky), Eitumatupua. 644

It is the descendants of Ahoeitu, he who was murdered in the sky, who 539
have successively been Tui Tonga. The descendants of Talafale are the 173
Tui Pelehake. The descendants of Matakehe[36] are not known, having [643]
become extinct. The descendants of Maliepo are called Lauaki. The descendants of Tui Loloko are still called Tui Loloko.[37]

The Tui Tonga and their families are of the highest rank, because Ahoeitu 539
came originally from the sky. He was the first chief appointed from the 173
sky, the Tui Tonga of all the world of brown people as far as Uea (Wallis 643
island), the ruler of the world. His divine origin makes his descendants real chiefs. In fact, it became customary to ask of one who is proud or thinks himself a chief: "Is he a chief? Did he descend from the sky?"

The son of Ahoeitu was Lolofakangalo, and he became Tui Tonga when Ahoeitu died; and the son of Lolofakangalo was Fangaoneone and he became the third Tui Tonga. The son of Fangaoneone was Lihau, and he was the fourth Tui Tonga. The son of Lihau was Kofutu; he was the fifth Tui Tonga. Kaloa, the son of Kofutu, was the sixth Tui Tonga. His son Mauhau was the seventh Tui Tonga. Then followed Apuanea, Afulunga,
Momo, and Tuitatui. It was Tuitatui who erected the Haamonga-a- [349]
Maui, or Burden-of-Maui (the well-known trilithon of Tongatabu).

The following account concerns the Tui Tonga Tuitatui and what he did on the raised platform house (*fale fataki*). His sister went to him. Her name was Latutama and she was female Tui Tonga. Her attendant followed her to Tuitatui's house. After his sister arrived Tuitatui ascended to his platform and then he began his lies, for, behold, he had desire for his sister to go up to the platform, so that they might have sexual intercourse. From above he said to his sister below: "Here is a vessel coming, a vessel from Haapai very likely; a very large vessel."

And Latutama answered: "Oh, it is your lies." "It is not my lies," retorted Tuitatui. "Come up and see the vessel yourself." Then his sister climbed up and sat with him on the platform, while her attendant remained below, and Tuitatui and his sister had sexual intercourse. That was the way of that Tui Tonga, and it was known to the attendant.

They dwelt together at their place of abode in Hahake (eastern Tonga- 539
tabu), the name of which was Heketa (near the modern village of Niutoua). 173
The trilithon called the Burden-of-Maui and Tuitatui's terraced stone tomb 368
are situated there. There was also there the Olotele[38] (or dwelling-place

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[36] Matakehe is mentioned in some texts as "a band of Tui Tonga's warriors."

[37] For a brief account of the kings of various countries being sent down from the sky by Sinilau, see page 194.

[38] Cf. Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaiian Islands.

539 of the Tui Tonga) and the course for the game played by the Tui Tonga
173 with the *sikaulutoa* (a reed throwing-stick with a head of *toa*, or casuarina
368 wood).

539 The sons of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. When Tuitatui died, his son Talaatama succeeded him.

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643 Then Talaatama spoke to his brother Talaihaapepe concerning the undesirability of Heketa as a place of residence. Said he: "Let us move and leave this dwelling place, because of our love for our two vessels; lest here they go aground and be broken to pieces, for this is a very bad anchorage." His brother Talaihaapepe replied: "It is true, but where will we go?" And Talaatama answered: "To Fangalongonoa (*fanga*, shore; *longonoa*, quiet), lest our vessels get wrecked." That is the reason why they moved their vessels to Fangalongonoa and made their dwelling near by. The place where they dwelt was called Mua. They took their two vessels with them. The name of one vessel was "Akiheuho," and the name of the other vessel was "Tongafuesia."

539 That is the reason why Laufilitonga[29] dwells at Mua. It is the dwell-
173 ing place prepared by Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. It was they who first
643 moved from Hahake (referring to Heketa on the northeast coast of Tong-
361 atabu) and it was they who prepared Mua. And all of the Tui Tonga who have succeeded them have dwelt there, even unto Laufilitonga, the present Tui Tonga.

539 When Talaatama died, he was succeeded by Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou.
173 This was not a person, but a piece of *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) wood which Talai-
643 haapepe caused to be set up as Tui Tonga, for he did not himself wish to become Tui Tonga immediately after his brother Talaatama. It being Talaihaapepe's desire that a dummy Tui Tonga be enthroned, the piece of *tou* wood was dressed in tapa and fine mats and duly appointed. A royal wife (*moheofo*), too, was appointed for the Tama Tou. After it had been three years Tui Tonga, the vault stones were cut for the tomb and the Tama Tou was buried in the vault.[30] Then it was pretended that his wife was pregnant, so that she might give birth to a Tui Tonga. The fictitious child was none other than the wily Talaihaapepe, the brother of Talaatama, who was then proclaimed Tui Tonga. A proclamation was made to the people of the land that the Tui Tonga's wife (the *moheofo*) had given birth to a son whose father was the recently deceased Tui Tonga Tama Tou. The truth of the matter was that it was really Talaihaapepe, who was at once proclaimed Tui Tonga.

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[29] The last Tui Tonga, who was living when this account was first written, and who died on Dec. 9, 1865.

[30] William C. McKern, my colleague in Tonga, carefully examined the terraced stone tomb reputed to be that of the Tama Tou, but could find no trace of a vault.

These are the things that those three Tui Tonga, Tuitatui, Talaatama 539
and Talaihaapepe, did. 173

Then followed in succession the Tui Tonga Talakaifaiki, Talafapite, Tui 643
Tonga Maakatoe, Tui Tonga i Puipui, and Havea.

Havea was assassinated. He died and his body was cut in two and his head and chest floated on shore. He was murdered while having his bath, and the name of the expanse of water where he bathed is Tolopona. It is by the roadside at a place called Alakifonua (modern village of Alaki, Tongatabu island). After his head and chest floated on shore, a gallinule (*Porphyrio vitiensis*) called *kalae* came and pecked the face of the dead chief. In consequence that beach was called Houmakalae. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body complete and then buried the remains. Thus it was done for the Tui Tonga Havea who was slain.

Another Tui Tonga was Tatafueikimeimua; another was Lomiaetupua; another Tui Tonga was Havea (II.), who was shot by a Fijian man called Tuluvota; he was shot through the head and he died.

Another Tui Tonga was Takalaua. His wife was a woman called Vae.
When she was born, she had a head like a pigeon's head, and her parents 539
deserted her. Her father's name was Leasinga and her mother's name was 173
Leamata. They left her at the island of Ata (near Tongatabu), while they 644
sailed to Haapai.

Ahe, the chief of the island of Ata, went down to look at the place where the boat had been beached, and he said, "Perhaps the canoe went last night." He walked about near the place where the canoe landed, and he saw something moving. It was covered with a piece of tapa. Behold, a woman had given birth to a girl child and deserted her, because she and her husband disliked the infant and were afraid of their child. Her parents were Leasinga and Leamata. Because she had a head like a pigeon's, they decided to abandon her. The chief of Ata went and unwrapped the moving bundle, and said: "It is a girl with a pigeon's head."

He took her, did the chief of the island, and fed and cared for her,
and adopted her as his daughter, and called her Vae. She lived and grew
big, and the beak of the bird was shed, and her head, like a pigeon's, was
changed. She grew very beautiful, and she was brought to Mua as a wife 539
for the Tui Tonga Takalaua. The woman who was born with the pigeon's 173
head bore children to Takalaua, the Tui Tonga. Her first son was Kauulu- 643
fonuafekai, and her second son was Moungamotua, and the third was 644

539 Melinoatonga, and the fourth was Lotauai, and the fifth was Latutoevave;
173 that child talked from his mother's womb. Those were all Vaelaveamata's
643 children to the Tui Tonga Takalaua.

644 Vae had five male children, some were grown up and some were still young when their father Takalaua the Tui Tonga was murdered. His
539 children, Kauulufonuafekai, Moungamotua, and his other sons, were very
173 angry over their father's murder, and they said: "Let us go and seek the
644 two murderers."

They made war on Tongatabu and conquered it, and the two murderers fled to Eua. And Kauulufonuafekai and his people entered a vessel and pursued the two murderers, whose names were Tamasia and Malofafa, to Eua. They fought the people of Eua, and conquered them, and the two fugitives fled to Haapai. Kauulufonuafekai and his brothers sailed in pursuit to Haapai. Haapai was waiting ready for war with the avengers, and they fought and Haapai was conquered. The two murderers then fled to Vavau, and Kauulufonuafekai pursued, and conquered Vavau. Again the two murderers fled, this time to Niuatoputapu. Kauulufonuafekai pursued, and fought and conquered Niuatoputapu. Thence the two murderers fled to Niuafoou. Still they were pursued. Kauulufonuafekai fought and conquered Niuafoou also. The two murderers again fled, but whither? Kauulufonuafekai went to Futuna to seek them, and fought and conquered Futuna.

Kauulufonuafekai had spoken in the vessel to his brothers and warriors: "Do you think my bravery is my own, or is it a god (*faahikehe*) that blesses me and makes me brave?" And his brothers, warriors, and people in the vessel all answered: "What man in the world is strong in his own body, and brave in his own mind, if not blessed by a god? You are brave and strong, because a god blesses you. That is the reason why you are strong and brave." Kauulufonuafekai replied: "I am not brave because of the help of a god. My bravery is the bravery of a man." Then his brothers said to him: "It is not. You are brave and strong from a god." Kauulufonuafekai replied: "I will divide my body into two parts when we go and fight at Futuna. I will leave my back for the god to bless and protect, while I guard my front myself, and if I am wounded in front, it will be a sign that I am brave and strong because a god blesses me; but should I be wounded in my back, it will be a sign that it is my own bravery, and that a god has nothing to do with it."

They went and fought the Futunans, who attempted to drive the Tongan vessel away. Then the Tongans in turn chased the Futunans on the sea and drove their warriors inland. But they were fighting for nothing, for the murderers were not at Futuna; they were at Uea. Thus Futuna was

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fought for nought, as it was thought that the murderers were there. They fought Futuna and the warriors from the vessel of Kauulufonuafekai, chased the people of Futuna, and caused them to flee. Kauulufonuafekai ran up the road in pursuit. A man in ambush speared Kauulufonuafekai through his back into his chest. The chief turned and clubbed the man who had speared him. And Kauulufonuafekai, returning, said: "I told you. Don't you say that I am brave through a god. Here I am wounded in the place that was left for the god to guard. I am not wounded from my front. My wound came from my back, which I left for him to guard; therefore I am not brave and strong from any god. It is my own bravery and the strength of this world. Come and we will go on board the vessel."

They went on board and sailed, but one of their brothers, Lotauai, was left behind at Futuna, for the people of Futuna had captured him. They did not kill him, but they let him live.

The vessel of Kauulufonuafekai sailed, and after voyaging for five days Kauulufonuafekai said: "Let us return to Futuna, because I have love for my brother, who is detained there; and my wound is itching, because it wants to fight." So they returned and Futuna saw the vessel coming, and the Futunans spoke to the lad, the brother of the chief, whom they had taken and they called his name: "Lotauai! the vessel is returning; the brave chief is coming again." And Lotauai, the lad that they held, said: "I told you that the chief would return with his warriors. It is for love of me, because you hold me prisoner. Had the chief and his warriors come for love of me, and come and found me dead, you having killed me, Futuna would indeed have died (been exterminated). But I am alive, so no one will be killed and you will not be punished."

Then the people of Futuna said to the lad: "Lotauai, what can we do to live!" They were afraid that the chief would come and kill them.

The chief's brother said: "Come and put on fine mats (*ngafingafi*), and pluck leaves from the chestnut (*ifi*) tree and put them round your neck. That is the thing to do to live, for it is the recognized Tongan way of begging mercy. Come and sit with bowed head at my back, while I sit in front, so that the chief that you are afraid of will see that I am still alive. That is the means by which you will live. Also prepare for his reception; cook food, and bring kava. After we have pacified the chief by sueing for mercy, then bring the kava and food, then we (Tongans) will drink it and go away." The vessel arrived and the people of the land came with loin mats (*ngafingafi*) round them, and chestnut leaves around their necks. And came the brave chief, and found his young brother still alive. And his young brother told the chief: "The people of the land are sueing for mercy, to live, because they are afraid." Kauulufonuafekai replied: "They live, and I am thankful that my brother still lives."

539 173 644 Then the kava and food were brought by the people of Futuna. They had kava with the chief and made friends. Then Kauulufonuafekai gave a Tongan boat to the people of Futuna, and said: "I have no wealth (tapa and mats) to give you, but here is a present for you, that I give you: Any vessel coming from Tonga is yours, but do not kill its people. All goods that are brought in it from Tonga are to be your present. That is my payment to you, because you allowed my brother, whom you took, to live, and I received a wound from you in the fight. That is why I give you the goods from the Tongan vessels." Hence comes the meaning of the expression: "*Vete fakafutuna,* to seize like the Futunans."

Then the vessel left to go and seek the murderers in Fiji. Kauulufonuafekai went and fought the different islands of Fiji, but the two murderers were not found in Fiji. They returned from Fiji and went to Uea, and fought and conquered Uea.

The two murderers were not able to flee from Uea, but were overtaken there, for they were prisoners held for sacrifice. When the Uea people came to sue for mercy, after they were conquered in the fight, the two murderers came with them. Kauulufonuafekai did not know the faces of the two murderers, but he knew their names. When the Uea people came to sue for pardon they all had long hair; but the two murderers, who came with them, had short hair which was just beginning to grow, their heads having been shaven. The chief knew them by their short hair, as all the Ueans had long hair. The chief called: "Tamasia!" for that was the name of one. He answered: "I am here." Then the chief called out the name of the other one: "Malofafa!" and he answered: "I am here." The chief then said: "What a long time you have been. Thanks to the god that you fled and that you are still alive. Come, you two Tongan men, we will sail for Tonga."

The vessel conveyed the two men to Tonga. There Kauulufonuafekai commanded that the two murderers should be brought and cut up alive as food for Takalaua's funeral kava. They were brought and cut up, and after they were cut up, their pieces were collected and burned in the fire.

It is said that Kauulufonuafekai had had their teeth pulled out at Uea, and then he had thrown them a string of dry kava, that he had worn round his neck most of the time since he had left Tonga. Upon throwing the dry kava to them, he told them to chew it. They tried to chew, with their bleeding gums, but were not able in the least to chew. After a very long, long time of thus giving them pain, from the morning of one day to the next day, Kauulufonuafekai told them to enter the vessel for them to leave for Tonga.

539 643 173 Takalaua, the Tui Tonga that was murdered, was buried, and Kauulufonuafekai was appointed Tui Tonga. He, the child of the woman with

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the pigeon's head, was Tui Tonga. The brother of Kauulufonuafekai, 643 Moungamotua, was appointed Tui Haatakalaua (*tui*, king; *haa*, family; 173 Takalaua, his father's name) and he went and lived at "Kauhalalalo" in Fonuamotu near Loamanu (at Mua, Tongatabu), in order to rule from there the land. And he was to be called Tui Haatakalaua. Moungamotua was the first Tui Haatakalaua, the brother of Kauulufonuafekai, the Tui Tonga.

Kauulufonuafekai was the first to arrange that the *apaapa*, or master [276] of ceremonies in the kava ring, should sit at a distance, not near to him, [574] because he was afraid of being murdered, as his father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua, was murdered. Therefore the kava ring was formed so that the people in it sat at a distance from the chief. He instructed some of his brothers to sit at his back to guard him lest he should be murdered. The name given to those brothers that sat behind him, was *huhueiki* (*huhu*, to suspect; *eiki*, chief).

Another Tui Tonga was Vakafuhu; another was Puipuifatu; another was called Kauulufonua; another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi I., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata I., (Telea). His vessel was called Lomipeau (*lomi*, keep under; *peau*, waves). That was the ship that often went to Uea to cut and load stones for the terraces (*paepae*) of the royal tombs. Paepae o Telea is the name of the grave yard of the Tui Tonga Telea. Fatafehi he was the son of Telea; his mother was Mataukipa. Another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi II., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata II. His sons were the Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I. and his brother, Tokemoana. The latter was appointed Tui Haauluakimata (*tui*, ruler; *haa*, family; Uluakimata, his father's name). Their sister Sinaitakala, was the female Tui Tonga; Fatani was their brother, also Faleafu, all of one father.

The son of Tui Pulotu was Fakanaanaa and he was Tui Tonga; another Tui Tonga was Tui Pulotu II.; and another Tui Tonga was Maulupekotofa. The son of Pau was Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, and the son of Fuanunuiava was Laufilitonga, the Tui Tonga that is alive in the world. That is the end of the Tui Tonga. The old Tui Tonga, the offspring of the Worm, are gone. The list of female Tui Tonga is not given, but only the list of the male Tui Tonga.

Here are their names in order: (1) Ahoeitu, (2) Lolofakangalo, (3) Fangaoneone, (4) Lihau, (5) Kofutu, (6) Kaloa, (7) Mauhau, (8) Apuanea, (9) Afulunga, (10) Momo, (11) Tuitatui, (12) Talaatama, (13) Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou, (14) Talaihaapepe, (15) Talakaifaiki, (16) Talafapite, (17) Tui Tonga Maakatoe, (18) Tui Tonga i Puipui, (19) Havea I., (20) Tatafueikimeimua, (21) Lomiaetupua, (22) Havea II., (23) Takalaua, (24) Kauulufonuafekai, (25) Vakafuhu, (26) Puipuifatu,

539 (27) Kauulufonua, (28) Tapuosi I., (29) Uluakimata I. (Telea), (30)
643 Fatafehi, (31) Tapuosi II., (32) Uluakimata II., (33) Tui Pulotu I., (34)
173 Fakanaanaa, (35) Tui Pulotu II., (36), Pau, (37) Maulupekotofa, (38)
Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, (39) Laufilitonga.

539 The Tui Tonga Uluakimata, he who was called Telea, had many wives.
One of his wives was Talafaiva. She was said, by the people of Mua who
644 saw her, to be the most beautiful of women, for there was not another
173 woman in the world so beautiful as she—she was unsurpassed. She was
also a very great chief, for both her parents were chiefs. There was not
another woman of such high rank, or so beautiful, or so well formed. She
was the only woman called by all the world *fakatouato* (chief by both
parents). Talafaiva brought fifty other wives (*fokonofo*) to Telea. The
second wife of Telea was Nanasilapaha, and she brought fifty other wives
to Telea. The third wife of Telea was Mataukipa and she brought one
hundred other wives to Telea.

Mataukipa was the wife that always received the tail of the fish, and rump of the pig every day. "Why is the head of the fish, and the head of the pig, and the middle cut of the fish, and back of the pig always taken to Talafaiva and Nanasilapaha?" This was the question which troubled Mataukipa, so she decided to confer with her father. "I will go to my father, Kauulufonuahuo (head-of-the-land-cultivators), and ask him if it is good or bad this thing that the Tui Tonga is doing to me." So she carried her child on her back and went to the place called Mataliku, where Kauulufonuahuo dwelt. He was an industrious gardener, growing yams, bananas, *kape* (a root like the taro), taro, *ufilei* (a small sweet yam), *hoi* (fruit tree), and large bread fruit trees.

Her father saw his daughter coming, and went to greet her. "You have come. Who is with you?" His daughter, Mataukipa, answered: "Only we two." Then the father asked: "Why was there no one to come with you? Why only you two? Are you angry?" and Mataukipa replied: "No!" Her father said: "You stay here while I go and prepare some food, then I will take you back to Mua."

They had their kava prepared twice. Then the people went and prepared the oven and baked yams and a pig. Afterwards the daughter spoke to her father: "Why are the Tui Tonga's wishes like that?" she asked, and her father inquired: "How?" His daughter replied: "When our fish and pig is brought, the two women always eat the head and back of the pig, and the head and middle part of the fish, and I always get the tail of the fish and the rump of the pig."

The father of the woman laughed, and made this reply to the woman: "And are you grieved at it?" The woman answered: "I am grieved at it."

The father replied to the woman: "Don't be grieved. Your portion is the 539
rump of the pig and the tail of the fish, because the land will come event- 644
ually to your children. They will be rulers." 173

The woman's mind was at peace after her father's explanation as to why she always was given the tail of the fish and rump of the pig, but before that she was jealous of the two women, and thought: "The chief loves the two women more than me." Consequently she was jealous.

They returned to her place and the woman was content, because of the
explanation of her father, and they all lived together. When the Tui Tonga 539
Telea died, the woman Mataukipa had a son called Fatafehi, and a daughter 644
called Sinaitakala-i-langi-leka. Fatafehi was appointed Tui Tonga and 643
Sinaitakala became female Tui Tonga. Thus what Mataukipa's father had 173
told her came true; her son became Tui Tonga and her daughter female
Tui Tonga and her descendants were Tui Tonga, the last being Laufilitonga.

The Tui Tonga Telea dwelt in the bush, because he preferred it, and 539
was more at home there, especially on the weather shore of Vavau. Each 644
of his dwelling places and sleeping places at the weather shore of Vavau 173
has a name, and each place is named after the thing he did at that place. [643]

Telea and his wife Talafaiva came and dwelt on the island of Euakafa. Their house was built on the top of the mountain, and a reed fence was erected round the place. There was a big tree called *foui* growing there, and Talafaiva told Telea: "It is not a nice tree. You had better have it cut down." But Telea answered: "Oh, leave it. It is all right."

They had dwelt there for some time, when a man called Lolomanaia came from a place called Makave (in Vavau island). His vessel landed at the place where Telea dwelt, because Lolomanaia was in love with Talafaiva. He ascended and waited till it was dark. When it was dark he went to the place of Telea. He pushed the gate to see if it was closed or open. When he pushed it he found that it was closed, and he tried and tried to find some way to get inside the fence. He went round outside of the fence and found the big tree that Talafaiva had told Telea to cut down. He climbed the tree and thereby gained access to the enclosure. He slept with the woman Talafaiva, the wife of Tui Tonga Telea. After they had slept he tattooed a black mark on her abdomen, to annoy Telea, for him (Telea) to know that he (Lolomanaia) had committed adultery with his wife.

Telea slept with Talafaiva in the day, and he saw what had been done to his wife's abdomen. Telea asked her: "Who, Talafaiva, has tattooed your stomach?" Talafaiva replied: "It is true! Chief, will you pardon me? It was Lolomanaia, who came to me. Don't you be angry, because you

539 know I told you, on the day that the fence was made for our enclosure, to
173 cut down the big *foui* tree, because the tree was badly placed, and you said
644 to leave it. The man climbed up it and came to me. His name was Lolomanaia." Telea was very wroth and arose and went out. He called his man servant by name. "Uka! come here, for me to tell you. Go and beat Talafaiva. She has had intercourse with a man."

Uka took a club, and went with it to her. Telea did not know that he was really going to kill Talafaiva. He only meant that he should beat her. After Telea's wrath cooled, he found that Uka had really killed Talafaiva, and that she was dead. The beautiful and well formed woman was dead. Uka came to report to Telea, and Telea asked: "Have you beaten Talafaiva?" and Uka, the man servant, answered: "I have beaten her." The chief asked: "And how is she?" Uka replied: "She is dead," and Telea asked: "Is she quite dead?" and Uka replied: "She is quite dead." Again Telea asked: "Is she quite dead, my wife Talafaiva?" and Uka made reply: "She is quite dead."

Telea was grief stricken: "Oh! oh! my misplaced confidence! I did not mean that you should really go and kill her. I only meant for you to beat her a little because I was angry. I really loved my wife, whom you have killed. You are an old fool!" Telea went and wept over Talafaiva, who was really dead, for a night and a day.

Then Telea the Tui Tonga said: "We will go and cut stones for a vault for Talafaiva." So they went and cut the stones for the vault, and made the vault. Then Talafaiva was buried in the vault. The grave yard with the vault standing in it is on Euakafa island. The big casuarina tree at the graveyard is called Talafaiva. That is all about Talafaiva, the wife
539 of Telea, about her ways and the meaning of what we hear about her. After
Talafaiva's death Telea went to Tonga (Tongatabu) and lived there and
173 died there.

643 The stones for the vault of this Tui Tonga Telea were cut at Uea, and the terrace stones were cut there also. This is the Tui Tonga that owned the vessel called Lomipeau, and this is the vessel that brought the stones for his vault and the terrace round it.

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THE FIRST TUI TONGA[31]

(A Variant)

Nae tomua fakakakai a mamani ehe hoko o Uanga: pea koia nae uluaki nofo a Kohai koe Tui Tonga o mamani. Pea nau nofo ai nofo ai ae kakai koia.	This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there (in Tonga).
Ka koe fuu toa nae tuu i he motu ko Toonangakava, pea au ki langi hono fuu	There was a casuarina tree that grew on the island of Toonangakava, and

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[31] Supplied by the Reverend Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau, after the original Tongan as published in Koe Makasini a Koliji. Translated by William Finau, of Neiafu, Vavau.

katoanga ke hau o kai. Pea ihe alu ae fefine ki he katoanga, kuo ikai i ai ae tama. Pea ne fehui atu kiate kinautolu, "Kofaa a Ahoeitu, ke aluange o kai?" Pea tali mai ehe kakai, "Nae alu fano pe hena, o mata sika." Pea kumi holo ehe fefine kae ikai ilo. Pea alu leva ae fefine, o talaange ki he eiki kuo ikai iloa ae tama.

Maholo leva a Eitumatapua kuo fakapongi e hono ngaahi taokete a sii tama. Pea alu leva ene fekau ke nau alu ange, pea ne fehui atu, 'Kofa ia ae tama?" Pea talaange ekinautolu, "Oku ikai te mau iloa." Pea peheange ehe eiki, "Mou omi o lua." Pea omi ae fuu kumete o tuku, pea fekau ke uhui a honau kia koeuhi ke nau lua ki ai; he naa ne ilo kuo nau tamatei ae tama o kai. Pea i he enau fai nae fonu ae kumete ihe kakano moe tolo oe tama. Pea ne fehui atu, "Kofaa hono ulu?" Pea nau tali ange, "Kuo mau li ki he vao, ki he pupunga hoi." Pea toki fekau ehe Eiki ke o o kumi mai, pea tanaki ange mo hono hui o ave o ai ihe kumete, pea lingi ki ai ae vai, pea toki paki mai ae lau oe akau koe nonufiafia. Koe akau ia oku ilonga e kuo teitei mahaki; pea omi hono lau o ai ki ai, pea moui leva, tokua. Pea ufiufi ae kakano moe tolo moe ulu, pea moe hui o Ahoeitu aki ae lou akau; pea ave o tuku i he tuafale, kae tau aahi pe. Nae alu atu hono fua vakai kuo kamata, fakatahataha ae hui moe tolo moe kakano; pea toe vakai atu kuo mei maopoopo: toe aahi atu kuo maopoopo a hono sino, pea i hono vakai fakamui kuo tangutu ki olunga i he loto kumete. Pea fakaha kia Eitumatupua, pea fekau eia ke nau o o tataki mai ki fale, pea hau o nofo i he ao oene tamai.

Pea toki fekau e Eitumatupua ke kumi mai ene fanau i langi. Pea nau hau pea ne lea atu kiate kinautolu, "Koeni kuo mou tae ofa ia Ahoeitu, pea ne mou fakapongi. Pea tukua ia ke alu ki lalo o Tui Tonga, ka mou nofo pe kimautolu fakapongi, heni." Pea fetangihi ae kau tama i he enau toki ilo mooni kohonau tehina, he kuo nau ofa iateia. Pea teu a Ahoeitu ehe ene

have something to eat. When the woman reached the entertainment, she could not see him. And she asked the people, "Where is Ahoeitu; he is to come home for his meal?" A reply came from the people, "He just went about there, looking at the *sika* game." The woman went all over the place but could not find him. So she returned and told the chief she could not find the lad.

Eitumatupua thought at once that his sons had killed the boy. He sent for all of them to come to him, and he asked them, "Where is the boy?" They replied, "We do not know." And the chief said, "You all come and vomit." They brought a large wooden bowl, and they were told to tickle their throats so that they should vomit into the bowl, for he knew they had killed and eaten the lad. Each vomited the contents of his stomach till the bowl was full of the flesh and blood of the boy. And Eitumatupua asked them, "Where is his head?" and they replied, "We have thrown it into the bush, where the *hoi* plants are." And the chief sent them out to look for the boy's head, and they brought the bones and placed them in the bowl and poured water into it, and they also brought the leaves of the Malay apple. This plant is used when someone is near death; the leaf of this plant is then brought and put over him, and he is cured. The flesh and blood and the head and bones of Ahoeitu were covered with the leaves of the plant; and were placed outside the house, and watched. At the first inspection it was found that the bones and flesh had begun to assemble, and on the second examination they were found to be almost completely united. On the third occasion when they were examined, the body was well formed, and at last they found Ahoeitu sitting up in the bowl. When this was told to Eitumatupua he ordered them to bring the boy inside. Ahoeitu came and sat down before his father.

Eitumatupua ordered that his children in heaven should enter. So they came and he spoke to them, "Here you have been cruel to Ahoeitu, and you killed him. Therefore I will let him go down to earth and become Tui Tonga, but you murderers must stay here." The young men now loved their younger brother and were all crying, knowing that he was their real brother. Ahoeitu was

539 173 643 tamai, pea toki tuku ke alu hifo ki mamani o Tui Tonga ai, koe uluaki Tui Tonga ia mei langi. Nae liua leva ae Tui Tonga ihe hoko oe Uanga.

539 173 644 Nae toki mui hifo ae ngaahi taokete o Ahoeitu mei langi ko Talafale, mo Matakehe, mo Maliepo, mo Tui Loloko, mo Tui Folaha. Nae folofola a Eitumatupua kiate kinautolu. "Koeni te mou alu ki mamani. Pea ko Talafale e ikai te ke Tui Tonga, koeuhi kuo ke fakapo; ka ke alu, pea e hingoa koe ko Tui Faleua; ko Maliepo mo Matakehe, te mo leohi ae Tui Tonga; pea ko Tui Loloko mo Tui Folaha e pule: pea ka fai ha putu oe Tui Tonga, ke mo fai o hange ko haku putu o oku."

Pea nau alu hifo o fai pe o hange kae tuutuuni aenau tamai. Koe hako eni o 539 643 173 644 Ahoeitu aia oku kei Tui Tonga tuku fakaholo ni. Koe hako o hono ngaahi taokete ko Talafale ko haana eni oku Tui Pelehake; ko Matakehe oku ikai ke kei iloa hoona hako; ko Maliepo ko haana eni oku Lauaki. Pea koe hako o Tui Loloko ae faahinga koeni oku ui koe Tui Loloko; ko Ahoeitu koe Tui Tonga nae alu hifo mei langi, pea koia oku eiki ai mo hono faahinga. Pea koemea ia oku fakahilihiliaki, ka pauu 539 173 643 mo fieeiki leva e, pea pehe atu leva ki ai, "Koe eiki koe he naa ke to mei langi?" Koia koe Tui Tonga nae ta hono uho koe eiki. Pea nae Tui Tonga o aau ene pule ki Uea.

Kae alo o Ahoeitu ko Lolofakangalo, pea nae Tui Tonga ia ihe hala a ene eiki, pea koe alo o Lolofakangalo ko Fangaoneone pea ihe hala a ene eiki nae Tui Tonga ia. Kohono tobo tolu ia. Pea koe alo o Fangaoneone ko Lihau. Naane Tui Tonga foki, pea alo o Lihau ko Kofutu, pea koe alo o Kofutu ko Kaloa. Pea ko hono foha aona ko Mauhau. Pea kae Tui Tonga e taha Apuanea mo Afulunga mo Momo mo Tuitatui (kaia naane ngaohi ae Haamonga-a-Maui).

Pea mo Talaatama; mo Tui Tonga Nui aia ko Tama Tou hono hingoa. Nae fekau e Talaihaapepe ke Tui Tonga ae Tama Tou. He ikai fie Tui Tonga ia koeuhi naa na fehokotaki mo hono taokete. Koe Tama Tou ko hono uhinga koe kupui tou, aia kuo omi o fakavala mo teuteui. Pea ange hano

prepared by his father, and sent down to earth and became the Tui Tonga of this world, the first Tui Tonga from heaven. The title of the Tui Tonga was then taken away from the offspring of the Worm.

Ahoeitu's elder brothers came down from heaven afterwards. They were Talafale, Matakehe, Maliepo, Tui Loloko, and Tui Folaha. Eitumatupua said to them, "You will go down to earth, and Talafale, you will never be Tui Tonga, because you are a murderer, but you go down and you will be called Tui Faleua; Maliepo and Matakehe, you two shall guard the Tui Tonga; and Tui Loloko and Tui Folaha shall rule, and the funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral."

And they went down and carried out their father's orders. The descendants of Ahoeitu have been Tui Tonga. The descendants of his elder brothers were: Talafale, who is now known as the Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, whose descendants are no longer known; and Lauaki, who is the descendant of Maliepo. And the Tui Loloko of to-day is of the family of the Tui Loloko (who came down from heaven); and Ahoeitu was the Tui Tonga who came from heaven, and the chiefs belong to his family. This is why people are often heard to say to a wicked or proud person, "Were you the chief that came down from heaven?" For the Tui Tonga was absolutely a high chief in himself. As Tui Tonga he ruled all places right up to Uea.

The son of Ahoeitu was Lolofakangalo, and he became Tui Tonga after the death of his chief (father), and the son of Lolofakangalo was Fangaoneone who was Tui Tonga after his chief (father) died. He was the third Tui Tonga. And the son of Fangaoneone was Lihau. He was Tui Tonga, and the son of Lihau was Kofutu, and the son of Kofutu was Kaloa. And his son was Mauhau. Apuanea and Afulunga were also Tui Tonga and also Momo and Tuitatui (who made the Burden of Maui).

And Talaatama (was Tui Tonga). Then there was the Tui Tonga Nui who was known as the Tama Tou (Child of Tou Wood). Talaihaapepe gave orders that the Tama Tou be made Tui Tonga. He did not want to be Tui Tonga immediately after his brother (Talaatama). The Tama Tou

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

unoho; pea lau ehe kakai koe mooni. Ka osi oku ikai hili ae tau tolu pea hono fonualoto o ave ae tamatou o hifoaki ki ai. Pea fanongonongo i Tonga ni, kuo hala e Langi. Pea fai mea fakaeiki ae kakai. Nae lohiaki i foki kuo feitama hono unoho. Koeuhi ke ne famui ha Tui Tonga e taha. Pea tau ongoongo ehe kakai moe fonua kuo aloi ehe Moheofo ki he Tama Tou ae Tui Tonga koe osi ko Talaihaapepe, koe tehina o Talaatama.

was a piece of *tou* wood that had a 539
garment just like a real person. It
was also given a wife; and the people 173
really thought it was a man. After
three years they made it a vault tomb, 643
and the Tama Tou was taken there. It was then made known throughout Tonga, that the Tui Tonga was dead. It was a great funeral they had. The people were also made to believe that the Tama Tou had a son who was to be the next Tui Tonga. The people all scattered the news concerning the son of the Tama Tou who was born by the Moheofo (the royal wife). This supposed son was Talaihaapepe, the real younger brother of Talaatama.

THE TENTH TUI TONGA, MOMO, AND THE CHIEF LOAU[33]

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This tale is about the chief Loau of Haamea, in central Tongatabu. It 173
is said that he had two daughters. The elder was Nua. The name of the 644
younger is not known.

A message was brought from the Tui Tonga Momo to Loau, asking him 539
to let him have cuttings of yams to complete the planting of his little yam 173
patch, meaning that Loau should give him one of his daughters in marriage. 643
The Tui Tonga's attendant (*matapule*) was sent with this message to 644
Loau.

Loau told the *matapule* to tell the Tui Tonga that the seed yams for the year were shrivelled and old and that it was too early otherwise to get seedlings. He meant that Nua already had children and that the other daughter was too young. But the Tui Tonga said that even though Nua was old he wanted her. Then Nua was taken to live with the Tui Tonga.

THE ELEVENTH TUI TONGA, TUITATUI, AND HIS HALF BROTHER, FASIAPULE[34]

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Tuitatui was perhaps the greatest of the line of Tui Tonga, if we may 173
judge by the tales which deal with him and his contemporaries. To him 643
is attributed the building of the Trilithon of Tongatabu.

There was a Tui Tonga named Momo, who sent his attendant Lehauli 539
to the chief of Haamea (in Tongatabu) who was named Loau, telling him 173
that he wanted "new yams and old yams" to complete the planting of his 643
little yam patch. Lehauli did not understand the meaning of the message 644
he bore. He really thought that the Tui Tonga wanted yams. Before he spoke to Loau, however, Loau guessed what he had come for. So Lehauli delivered his message.

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[33] Told by Solomon Ata, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu.
[34] Told by Fakauta, a chief of Eua island.

539 Loau told him to tell the Tui Tonga that he had "no new yams but he
643 had an old yam and bush yams," meaning one married daughter and
173 "daughters in the bush," i. e., illegitimate daughters. The attendant took
644 this message to the Tui Tonga, who again sent him to Loau to tell him that
539 he wanted Nua, Loau's married daughter. She was married to Ngongo-
173 kilitoto of Malapo, Tongatabu, who was chief of Haangongo (probably a
644 clan or other group of people).

So Loau came to Malapo and spoke to Ngongokilitoto, telling him that the Tui Tonga wanted Nua. Ngongokilitoto told Loau to go and wait on the road until he had talked with Nua, for their marriage was a marriage for love.

Ngongokilitoto told Nua that he released her from marriage in order that she might go to the Tui Tonga, but he would visit her regularly. He told her that if she heard water dripping on a *kape* (*Arum costatum*) leaf as on a rainy night, that it was a sign that he was outside.

Loau then took his daughter to the Tui Tonga. For some time Ngongokilitoto visited her. Whenever she heard the dripping on the *kape* leaf she went out to meet her husband. Nua had already borne Ngongokilitoto a son called Fasiapule. She was anxious to bear a child to the Tui Tonga, so she told Ngongokilitoto that he had better cease his visits. She wanted to have a child that was without doubt the Tui Tonga's. After Ngongokilitoto ceased his visits to Nua she became pregnant to the Tui Tonga. She bore a son who was named Tuitatui.

539 When the Tui Tonga died, Tuitatui became king. Tuitatui did not know
643 that he had a brother. One morning they had a ceremony in which the
173 Haangongo people presented yams and other products to the Tui Tonga.
Fasiapule came with the people. He brought a basket in which he carried
644 a piece of charcoal, one ripe *mamae* (a sort of banana), one *toto* (a fruit),
and the pithy inside of a banana tree through which a fiber ran.

During the kava drinking Fasiapule came inside the kava ring with his basket. Then he made a speech. First he picked up the banana pith and broke it in half, but it was still united by the fiber within. He told Tuitatui that it was like themselves, that they could not break away from each other, because they were born of the same woman. Then he picked up the *mamae* to show that the two half brothers will pity each other. If Fasiapule were to commit a wrong, Tuitatui would have pity for him in his mind.

Then Fasiapule picked up the *toto* and told the Tui Tonga that they two were of one blood and united like the *toto*. Then he picked up the charcoal and told the Tui Tonga that his mind was dark like the charcoal, for he did not know until now that he had a brother in Fasiapule.

After the kava party broke up and the visitors had all departed, Tuitatui 539
sent for his female servant. She had served his father and his mother. 173
He asked her if she knew Fasiapule. The servant told Tuitatui: "Yes. 644
Fasiapule is the son of Nua by Ngongokilitoto. Therefore you and Fasia- 643
pule are brothers."

Fasiapule went to Fiji in an attempt to flee from his two goddesses, 539
Sisi and Faingaa, whom he had tired of providing with food. These god- 173
desses had become very angry with Fasiapule, so Fasiapule told them he 644
would show them a trick which they would appreciate. He had two coconut leaf baskets made. He put Faingaa in one basket and Sisi in the other and told them to look always skyward. He carried them on a pole on his shoulder. When he came to a satisfactory tree, he hung the pole with the two baskets over a limb. The goddesses, ever looking at the sky and clouds moving over them, thought that they were still being carried by Fasiapule. They hung on the tree until the baskets rotted and they fell through. Meantime Fasiapule had changed his appearance by cutting his hair and beard. When the goddesses fell from the baskets they found that Fasiapule had duped them. So they searched all of the country for Fasiapule. He heard of it, and he ran away to Fiji.[36]

When he returned from Fiji after some time, he learned that Tuitatui was in Eua island. So he proceeded to Eua with a Fijian companion. From Tonga he had seen a light in Eua. So he embarked in a canoe and went over to Eua.

When Fasiapule and his companion landed in Eua, they proceeded
southward to the place called Tutu, where the light was. Upon reaching [643]
Tutu, Fasiapule found that the light was from the funeral torches of his
brother Tuitatui, whom the Euans were about to bury.

Fasiapule killed his Fijian companion and took him to the house where Tuitatui's body lay and substituted the Fijian's body for Tuitatui's. He then carried his brother's body away. When he had gone a distance, Fasiapule felt tired from the weight of the body. He put it down and got some hibiscus fiber to lash the body to a pole for greater ease in carrying. The place where he did this is called Fautapu (*fau*, hibiscus; *tapu*, sacred), even at the present time.

He proceeded with the body. Over the head of the corpse was a *holo* (an old piece of tapa used for towel). This piece of tapa dropped off the head of his brother. The place where it dropped is today called Holotapu. At last he arrived with the body at the beach, put it in his boat, and started to paddle to Tongatabu.

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[36] This episode is evidently borrowed from the tale of Pasikole. See page 196.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 173 644 He became weary and stopped at Motutapu, which was named Sacred (tapu) Island (*motu*) on that account. When he had rested, he proceeded on his voyage. Again he became weary and stopped at Moungatapu in the bay of Mua, Tongatabu island. From this fact the island is called Moungatapu (Sacred Mountain).

From Moungatapu it is not certain where Fasiapule took the body and buried it. Some say it was taken to Haangongo at Malapo, some to the royal tombs in Lapaha (*sic*!).[37]

TUITATUI, HIS SISTER, AND HIS SONS[38]

539 173 643 644 There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui and he had a sister named Latutama who was Tui Tonga also, that is, she was female Tui Tonga. Tuitatui had a house with a loft at Heketa, which was the place of residence of the Tui Tonga before they moved to Lapaha (Mua).

One day the Tui Tonga's sister Latutama and her maidens visited Tuitatui at his house. After conversing for some time, Tuitatui said: "Remain down here while I go up into the loft." Tuitatui had designs on his sister, and he called down: "There are some boats arriving from either Haapai or Vavau." Latutama controverted him, saying: "It is not true." "I am telling the truth," Tuitatui asserted, "but climb up and see for yourself. It is a large fleet, one boat, two boats, three boats, four, five, about a hundred boats, I think."

Latutama then ascended and Tuitatui seized her. While the maidens were waiting below, they noticed blood trickling down and they asked: "What is that trickling down." Tuitatui answered from above: "It is from a flying fox." To this day the place where this occurred is called Toipeka (drop of blood of the flying fox).

539 173 643 It was Tuitatui who built the Haamonga-a-Maui (the famous trilithon) and there are also a green (*malae*) and a *sika* course attributed to him. At Heketa there were large houses belonging to Tuitatui, the lofts (*fata*) of which were built of *fehi* wood and for that reason were called *fatafehi*.

539 173 643 644 [361] [764] The children of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. On the death of Tuitatui, Talaatama became Tui Tonga. Talaatama conferred with his younger brother and said: "Let us move our dwelling place from here (Heketa) before some disaster overtakes our two boats. This spot is bad, for it is rocky and rough." Talaihaapepe said: "Very well, but whither shall we move?" Talaatama replied: "My idea is that we move to the Fangalongonoa, before we lose our boats." This is how it came about

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[37] According to tradition the royal tombs of Lapaha were not yet constructed. Heketa is probably meant, for in another account this is the reputed burial place of Tuitatui (p. 29).

[38] Recorded in Tongan by the Tamaha Amelia, May 27, 1844. Preserved in the genealogical records of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte Tupou. Translated by Mrs. May Laurence.

that they moved from Heketa to Fangalongonoa and lived there. They 539
named the new place of residence Mua and they took their boats there. 173
The name of one boat was "Akiheuho" and the name of the other was 643
"Tongafuesia." Thus the living of the Tui Tonga at Mua began with the [644]
time of Talaatama and Talaihaapepe, the sons of Tuitatui. [361]

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUITATUI [39]

There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui, who was so named because the kava maker of early days did not sit in the same fashion as nowadays, but sat in the center of the ring of chiefs. The chiefs were encircled by the people, which made the assassination of the Tui Tonga quite easy. But this Tui Tonga, when at a kava party and surrounded by the people, had a very long stick with which he used to beat the knees of anyone who came
too close to him. This made them move away and keep at a distance from [276]
him, and they called him Tuitatui (*tui*, king; *ta*, to strike; *tui*, the knee) [574]
and since that time the kava circle has been arranged as he made it.

TUITATUI AND THE MAIDEN [40]

Ko Tuitatui, koe Tui Tonga, nae eiki, pea ngeia, pea manavahe ai ae kakai oe otu fonua ni.

Ko Tuitatui, eni nae alu ene aalo ki Halakakala, pea akemai one iloi ae fefine oku hekeheka i he tualiku o Eueiki, kae fakataupe a hono vae ki tahi; o iloi ai e Tuitatui, moe ongo tangata. Koe iloi tokua e he tangata nae nofoa mua, pea ne pehe ange: "Ongo tamani, mo mate eku tupua." Pea na pehe mai: "Koeha?" Pea pehe e he tangata: "Ko eku tupua, koe kalia, oku langolango i he tuahilu o Haakame." Pea na matei ae tupua, pea ikai ke na ilo, pea toki tala e he tangata, one pehe: "Ko eku tupua eni; mo sio ange ae vaei fefine, koeni oku fakataupe ki taki, ka oku hekeheka, i he vaafau, kae mama ae konga tahi, nae feounga moia." Pea nau sio kotoa ki ai, ka nae alo mui a Tuitatui, pea lea mai: "Ongo tama, tau ange mo kimoua, ke mo aalo vave, ke tau ilo ape, koe mama, pe koe tevolo."

Tuitatui, the Tui Tonga, was chief, and terrible, and feared by all the people of the groups of islands.

Tuitatui went in a canoe to Halakakala, and approaching the shore he saw a woman sitting on the weather shore of Eueiki, and dangling her legs into the sea; and Tuitatui and his two men saw her. She was seen first, it is said, by the man that sat in front, and he said: "You two lads, guess my riddle." And they said, "What is it?" And the man answered: "My riddle is this, the double-boat is raised on the weather shore of Haakame." And they tried to guess the riddle, but failed. Then the man told them: "This is my riddle; you see there the legs of a woman, that are hanging into the sea, but she is sitting, on the branch of the fau (hibiscus) tree, while there is a light on the sea, opposite her." And they all looked. But Tuitatui was paddling in the stern, and he spoke: "You two lads, it is with you, to paddle quickly, for us to discover if it is human, or a spirit."

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[39] From the original Tongan of a manuscript in the possession of John Panuve Maatu. Translated by Alphonse J. Gaffney.

[40] From the original Tongan of a manuscript written by the late Elia Malupo, an attendant (*matapule*), made available through the courtesy of Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou the Queen of Tonga and His Highness William Tungi the Prince Consort. All of Malupo's tales were copied from an early account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [127]

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Pea nau au atu ki ai, pea lea ange a Tuitatui: "Taahine, malo ae tau moe tualiku ni." Pea lea mai ae taahine: "Io, malo pe ae fakaope i hakau." Pea toe lea mai a Tuitatui, one pehe: "Ta neinei te mau fiu he sio, ikai te mau ilo ha laumanu, i hakau: Ta koeni, oku i uta ni!"

Pea ne pehe: "Heka mai, ka tau ake." Pea pehe ange ae taahine. "Tau ake ki fe? Ki Tonga, pe ki motu ni? ke mou malolo, pea tau toki folau apongipongi ki Olotele." Pea lea ange a Tuitatui, one pehe, "Vakai pe ka mea e faingofua, he naa mau sio ange oku loka ae ava." (Ko ene loipe; ka oku nongape ae ava.)

Ka oku kei lotolotouape a Tuitatui, pe koe tevolo pe koe mama. Pea lea mai ae taahine o ne pehe: "Oua teke alu, mo oua; he oku ikai ha mea e faingataa, kapau oku ikai, ke atu, mooua ae loto, kae ha ae loka. Ka oku takavale pehe e ae finengalona, pea mou haele ki Olotele, kau nofo au, he ikai teu heka atu."

Pea toki iloi e Tuitatui, ta koe mamape! Pea toki kole mai a Tuitatui, one pehe mai: "Taahine, fakamolemole, ka ke mea mai o heka ke tau folau ki Tonga. Kapau, e ikai, teke mea mai, te mau matape a i tahi ni." Pea toki heka ae taahine. Pea nau tau atu ki uta, pea fehui ange a Tuitatui: "Taahine, kohai koa ko huafa?" Pea pehe mai e he taahine: "Ei, ko Nua sioku hingoa." Ka nae toka iloipe a Tuitatui, ehe taahine, i he e nau tau ange, nae fangono he talanoa ko Tuitatui koe eiki ulu fuolahi, pea loloa, oku ikai ke pehe ha ulu o ha tangata. Pea siope ae taahine, pea ne iloi leva ko Tuitatui eni.

[644] Pea na nonofo, pea feitama a Nua, pea faele, koe tangata ko Uanga; pea toe faele koe tangata ko Afulunga; pea toe faele, koe taahine ko Fatafehi; pea toe faele, koe tangata ko Sina. Nae toko fa ae fanau koia.

Koe ngaue a Tuitatui ae langi ke Heketa, moe maka fanekinanga, moe langi ko Moungalafa. Nae toko fa ae fanau koia.

Pea nofonofo a Tuitatui, pea ne pehe ange: "Kau tama, fai mo fai haa mou ngaue, oku ou kei moui." Ko ene

And when they reached it, Tuitatui spoke and said: "Maiden, it is well your being here at the weather shore." And the girl responded: "Yes, and it is well your paddling on the reef." And Tuitatui spoke again, and said: "No wonder we got tired of looking, and not seeing any birds (indicating fish), on the reef. Why here it is, on the shore!"

And he said: "Come on board, and let us go." And the girl replied: "Where shall we go? To Tonga or to this island (Eueiki) for you to rest, and to leave to-morrow for Olotele (Tuitatui's residence at Heketa, Tongatabu island)?" And Tuitatui answered, and said, "We will see which is the easier, because we saw the the entrance was rough." (It was all his lies; the entrance was not rough.)

But Tuitatui was still undecided whether it was a spirit or a human being. The girl spoke and said: "Don't you go, don't, for there is nothing difficult if you do not go with unheeding mind when the breakers are seen. But if you are in want of food, well, go to Olotele, and I will stay. I will not come on board."

Then Tuitatui knew that it was only a human being! Then Tuitatui begged her, and said: "Maiden, please, come on board so that we can leave for Tonga. If you don't come we shall die in this sea." Then the maiden went on board. And when they reached the shore, Tuitatui asked her: "Maiden, what is your name?" And the maiden answered: "My lord, Nua is my name." But the maiden knew who Tuitatui was, for when they arrived, she heard people saying that Tuitatui was the chief with the very big long head, and that no other man had a head like his. And the maiden looked, and knew at once that this was Tuitatui.

And they lived together, and Nua was pregnant, and gave birth to a son called Uanga; then to a second son, Afulunga; then to a daughter Fatafehi; then to another son called Sina. There were four children.

The works of Tuitatui were the terraced stone tomb at Heketa, and the resting stone, and the terraced stone tomb of Moungalafa. Four of his children are buried there.

And dwelt for a time Tuitatui, and said: "Lads, make haste and do your work, while I am still alive." He

pehe, ke ngaohi hano langi, ke fai he kuo vaivai. Ka nae ikai ke pehe ae loto oe kau tangata. Koia nae fai aipe a Tuitatui, i he teetanu, oe ngaohi oe Haamonga. Ka nae fai ange ae lau a Tuitatui, pea nau loto leva, ke nau ngaohi ha mea ki ui koe Haamonga-a-maui, ke oua naa toe auhi e ha taha.

Pea nau kamata ae ngaue koia, aki ae inasi, o ngata mei he otu muli, ko Lotuma, mo Futuna, mo Uea, moe ongo Niua, mo Haamoa. Nae ta ae maka e tolu, o to ae maka e ua, pea langa ia o tuu. Pea tanu o tatau moe funga maka ae kelekele. Pea toki tekai ki olunga, o hilifaki, pea toe keli o fetuku ae kelekele, o tanu aki ae ngahi sia, ae nae tanu ai a Tuitatui, kae tuu ae Haamonga koe matanga.

Koe ngaue a Uanga mo hono fototehina, ae Haamonga, moe langi i Mua, ko Langileka. Koe ngaue a Uanga ae hiki ki Mua, i he longo aia a honau tuofefine ko Fatafehi, aia oku ui koe na kakai e hono utulongoaa. Nae fakakakai e hono tuongaane ki mui.

Oku ikai ke iloi ae kau Tui Tonga, i he vahaa o Uanga, mo Tuitatui. Koe tama a Nua nae fai ki ai ae aokai. Pea oku ikai ke iloi ae kau Tui Tonga ihe vahaa o Tuitatui, naane ngaohi a Heketa, moe Eiki nae to mei langi.

Koe ngaue a Tuitatui, tehina o Fasiapule, koe foha ia o Ngongokilitoto; ko ia naane ilo a Sangone mei Haamoa, ko fekau e hono tehina Tui Tonga, ke alu o kumi a Sangope: pea ne ilo.

539
173
643

meant for them to prepare his terraced tomb, because he was getting old. But his men were not so minded. So Tuitatui urged the carrying of the earth, for the making of the Haamonga (the great trilithon of Tongatabu). But after Tuitatui had thus spoken they decided to make something that no one could ever surpass, and call it the Burden of Maui.

And they began this work with an *inasi* ceremony, which was attended by the distant islands of Rotuma, and Futuna, and Uea, and the two Niuas, and Samoa. They cut three stones and buried two of them which stood upright, and they piled up the earth till it reached the top of the two stones. And the third stone was rolled up the mound and placed on the top. Then the earth was dug and carried away to make the mound where Tuitatui was buried, while the Haamonga stood as an observatory.

The work of Uanga and his younger brothers was the making of the Haamonga and the terraced stone tomb at Mua, called Langileka. Uanga's work was the removing to Mua, his sister Fatafehi by her silence consenting, which was called by their people *utulongoaa* (*utu*, carry; *longoaa*, silent). And Mua was peopled by her brother later.

Unknown are the Tui Tonga between Uanga and Tuitatui. The child of Nua was the one to whom the provisions were brought, that is to say he was the Tui Tonga. And unknown are the Tui Tonga between Tuitatui, who made (the structures at) Heketa, and the chief (Ahoeitu) that came from the sky.

This was the work of Tuitatui, younger (half) brother of Fasiapule, who was the son of Ngongokilitoto: he brought Sangone from Samoa; his younger brother the Tui Tonga sent him to seek Sangone and he found her.

TUITATUI AND THE TURTLE SANGONE[41]

539

Ko Sangone koe fonu ae taahine ko Hinahengi mei Pulotu. Nae hau ene ulu umea i mamani pea hake ki Mokotuu, o fakamoamoa ai pea fie mohe, pea tokoto o mohe. Pea hau ae

Sangone was a turtle belonging to the lady Hinahengi from Pulotu. She (Hinahengi) came to wash her hair with clay in this world and came on shore at Mokotuu to dry her hair and,

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[41] From a manuscript copied by Elia Malupo, a *matapule* (attendant), from the account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

539 Haamoa ko Lekapai oku mohe a Hinahengi pea ne fetuutuutaki a hono lou ulu, ki he ngahi fuu akau. Pea ne toki fafangu ae taahine, mo ne pehe: "Taahine, tuu hake," pea tuu hake a Hina, kuo mau hono ulu i hono hai, pea pehe ange e Hina: "Fakamolemole, ka ke vevete, kata nonofo mo koe," pea vete leva ae ulu oe taahine, pea na nonofo o fuoloa.

Pea koe aho e taha, nae pehe e Lekapai: "Kuou fie alu au ki Haamoa, ki hoku kainga," pea tala ange e Hina: "Kapau te ke fai ki he mea teu tala atu, pea atu a eku fae ke mo o ki Haamoa, pea tata ange e Lekapai: "Teu fai ki ai." Pea pehe e Hina: "Ka ke au ki Haamoa, pea ke alu o hui mai ha fui niu, mo ha loutakapau, pea omi ki ai ke hau moia; pea ke toki alu o feilongaki mo ho kainga."

Pea ikai ke fai ki ai a Lekapai, kae alupe ia o feiloaki mo hono kainga. Pea ahoia ae fonu o mahaia, pea hau ae utu tahi o ne iloi a Sangone, pea alu o 'tala ae fonu oku mahaia. Pea hau ae kolo o toho o ave a Sangone o tao, kae ave ae uno o keli ae luo, o tanu ai. Ka oku tuu ae tamasii ko Lafaipana, pea puke e Loau ae ulu oe Lafai, mo ne pehe: "E Lafai, te ke pana, pea ke pana, pea koe aho e iloi ai a Sangone, pea ke toki mate." Ko Loau ia; nae i Haamoa; ko ene kumi ae laa. Ko Loau Tuputoka ia, ka oku ikai ko Loau Tongafisifonua. Pea li ki ai, ae foi tuitui e Loau. Pea folau mai a Loau ki Tonga ni, o talanoa ae uno o Sangone, oku tanu i Haamoa.

539
173
644 Pea toki kekau e he Tui Tonga ko Tuitatui a hono taokete fae taha ko Fasiapule, ke alu o kumi ki Haamoa a Sangone. Pea folau a Fasiapule ki Haamoa, o tau ki Savaii, ki he kolo ko Sangone hono hingoa. Pea lea ange a Fasiapule ki he kau vaka: "E ikai, ke tufa ha taha; ko au pe teu tufa." Pea nau haki ki uta, pea tanaki mai ae kolo, o nau faikava. Pea kisukava a Fasiapule o pehe: "Pongia i vao, tangia mo koki." Pea ikai ke nau iloi ae kisukava e he faikava, kae alu ae fehui kia Lafaipana, pe koeha ae kisukava ae eiki Tonga. Pea tala ange e Lafaipana: "Ke mou o, o kumi mai, ae meai hopa,

feeling sleepy, lay down and went to sleep. And a Samoan called Lekapai came along while Hinahengi slept, and he tied her hair, to the big trees. Then he awoke the maiden, and said: "Maiden, get up," and Hina got up, but her head was fast in its bonds. Hina said: "Please, undo it and I will live with you," and the hair of the maiden was undone, and they lived together for a very long time.

And one day, Lekapai said: "I would like to go to Samoa, to my relatives," and Hina said: "If you will do what I tell you, I will give you my mother to go with you to Samoa, and Lekapai said: "I will do it." And Hina said: "When you reach Samoa, go and strip a big coconut tree (of fruit), and get a coconut-leaf mat, and give them to the turtle to bring; then you may go afterwards to see your relatives."

But Lekapai did not do that, but went at once to see his relatives. And at dawn the turtle was still waiting in the shallow water, and some one came to get sea-water and saw Sangone, and went and told the people that a turtle was in the shallow water. And the town (people) came and dragged and took Sangone and cooked her, and took the shell and dug a hole, and buried it. And the lad Lafaipana was standing by, and Loau took hold of Lafai's head, and said: "Oh Lafai, you will grow slowly, and you will grow slowly, and the day that Sangone is found then you will die." That was Loau; he was in Samoa; he was looking for the sun. That was Loau Tuputoka, but not Loau Tongafisifonua. And Loau threw into it (the hole) a candle nut. And Loau sailed for Tonga and told about Sangone's tortoise shell, that was buried in Samoa.

Then the Tui Tonga Tuitatui sent his elder brother of one mother with him named Fasiapule, to go and seek in Samoa for Sangone. Fasiapule sailed for Samoa and reached Savaii, at the town called Sangone. And Fasiapule spoke to the crew of the vessel: "No one shall apportion; I only shall do the apportioning." And they went on shore, and the people of the town assembled, and they had kava. And Fasiapule called the toast of the kava and said: "Fainted in the bush, mad and scratched." And they did not know what the toast meant at the kava ring, and sent to inquire from Lafai-

539
173
644

oku tuu he vao. Oua naa mou omi ae hopa maalaala; pea moe mukai talo o kofu aki ha lou si o tunu, pea omai ke ne fono."

Pea toe kisukava, o pehe: "Kisuhe, ngulungulu mo tokoto." Pea ikai foki ke nau iloi, kae alu ae fehui kia Lafaipana: "Pea koeha ae kisukava koia?" Ka tuku ae faikava anai, kae fai ha feiumu tali oe folau: "Pea mou kumi ae puaka oku ikai, ke kei faatuu, oku kai mo tokoto; pea koe puaka ia, oku kisukava ki ai." Pea fai ae feiumu tali, o tao ae puaka pehe. Pea tauhi mai ae feiumu, pea tufa ae umu moe puaka, o pehe hono tufa: "Koena ae keu mui, moe keu mua, moe fakalaa, moe huohua, koe inasi ia o mautolu. Kae tauhi ena ko ho mou inasi ia, pea mou kai ke vave. Ka mou hau ke tala ae fekau oku mau folau mai ai."

Pea katoa mai, pea fehui atu a Fasiapule: "Oku ikai ke mou ilo ae feituu oku tanu ai a Sangone?" Pea nau tala mai, "Oku ikai aupito te mau iloi." Pea pehe e Fasiapule: "Ka kohai naa ne ilo, eku kisukava?" Pea nau tali mai: "Koe tamasii ko Lafaipana, naa ne tala mai." Pea pehe e Fasiapule: "Oku kei moui a Lafaipana?" Pea nau tali mai: "Oku kei moui." Pea fekau ke taki mai, o fehui atu: "Ko Lafaipana koe nae paki e Loau?" Pea tali mai e Lafaipana: "Ko au." Pea pehe e Fasiapule: "Oku mau folau mai, koe fekau e he Tui Tonga ke mau kumi a Sangone ke o ange. Pea oku ke iloi totonu ae mea oku tanu ai?" Pea pehe ange e Lafaipana: "Kapau te tau aluni o keli, ka eku kole eni, ke ke fakamolemole. Kae oua ke tau toki keli. Ke ke kumi mai mua, ha tuula o eku lupe, naaku matepe, oku heeki ai ke tuula eku lupe." Pea tala ange e Fasiapule: "Oku lelei teu folau ki Niua."

Pea folau a Fasiapule o ta toa i Niua. Pea folau mai, pea eke atu e Lafaipana: "Koeha ena?" Pea pehe atu e Fasiapule: "Koe tuula o hoo lupe." Pea pehe mai e Lafai: "Ta! Koe tohi faivavale koe oku lahi, koe ta mai e koe ae toa ke ma mohe. Ko eku laupe

pana, what was the toast of the chief from Tonga and Lafaipana said: "For you to go, and seek and bring the wild banana, that stands in the bush. Do not bring the cultivated banana. Bring the young leaves of the taro, and wrap them in the *si* leaf and cook on the ashes, and bring it for him to eat with his kava."

And he gave another toast, and said: "Drink, grunt, and lie down." And again they did not know it, and a message was sent to Lafaipana: "What is this toast?" When the kava ring dispersed, while the food was brought for the visitors (Lafaipana said): "You will seek the pig that cannot stand, being so fat, that it eats and lies down; the pig that the toast was drunk to." And the food was prepared for the visitors, and a pig like that was baked. And the prepared food was brought with the pig, and it was apportioned like this: "There are the hind foot, and the fore foot, and the part exposed to the sun [the back], and the rooter [the head], which are our portion. The remainder is your portion, and you must eat it quickly. Then come for me to tell you the message we have brought."

And all came, and Fasiapule asked them: "Do you not know the place where Sangone is buried?" And they replied, "We do not know in the least." And Fasiapule said: "But who knew my kava toast?" And they replied: "It was the boy Lafaipana—he told us." Then Fasiapule asked, "Is Lafaipana still alive?", and they replied: "He is still alive." They were told to bring him, and he was asked: "Are you the Lafaipana that Loau hit?" Lafaipana replied: "I am," and Fasiapule said: "We have sailed here, with a message from the Tui Tonga for us to seek Sangone and take her back. Do you know the right place where she is buried?" And Lafaipana said: "We might go at once and dig, but I have a request to make. Let us dig later. But first let us seek a perch for my pigeon, lest I die before there is a perch for my pigeon." And Fasiapule said: "All right, we will sail for Niua."

And Fasiapule sailed to Niua and cut a casuarina tree. And they sailed back, and Lafaipana asked: "What is that?" And Fasiapule replied: "It is the perch for your pigeon." And Lafai said: "Behold! You are indeed a big fool, to cut the casuarina stick for me to sleep

539 173 644 e au, teke iloi eku kole tuula lupe, he naake fakalavelavei e koe, a hoku kaingani, kae teke iloi foki e koe, eku kole: Ko eku lau fefine aaku." Pea tali mai e Fasiapule: "Fakamolemole, e Lafaipana, tonuhia koe a eku toe iloi, a hoo lau. He oku ikai ke toutangata, ka ke tatali kau folau ki Tonga, ke omai kao fakamafana." Pea tala ange e Lafaipana: "Oua, he kuo mou fuoloa, naa houhau ae Tui Tonga. Ka tau alu a, o keli a Sangone." Pea nau alu hake o keli, pea ha hake ae uno, pea mate leva a Lafaipana, pea fakakoloa, o fai i he luo o Sangone.

539 173 643 237 [644] Pea folau mai a Fasiapule moe uno, o ange kia Tuitatui, o tuku ai koe tevolo, pea tuku fakaholo mai, o ngata ia Laufilitonga. Pea lotu a Laufilitonga, pea ne fakatau ki he vaka papalangi, pea alu ae vaka koia, o fakatau i Fisi. Pea fanongo ai ae Tui, ko Maeakafa, pea alu o eke i Fisi a Sangone, pea ne ilo, ae konga uno lahi o Sangone, pea ne omai o tuku ia te ia, pea oku kei tuku.

with. I thought you would understand my request for a perch for my pigeon, because you tried your riddles on my friends here; therefore I thought that you would know my request: I was talking about a woman." And Fasiapule replied: "Pardon, O Lafaipana, you are right, I now understand what you meant. We are not of one generation, but wait till I sail to Tonga, to bring you something to keep you warm." And Lafaipana said, "Don't, because you have been away a long time, and the Tui Tonga might be angry. But we will go, and dig up Sangone." And so they went and dug, and the tortoise shell came in sight and Lafaipana died at once, and was buried with fine mats in Sangone's grave.

And Fasiapule returned and brought the tortoise shell, and gave it to Tuitatui, and it was used as a god, and it was handed down to Laufilitonga. And when Laufilitonga became a Christian, he sold it to a European vessel, and that vessel went and sold it in Fiji. And the King, Maeakafa (George I. Tupou), heard about it, and so he inquired in Fiji about Sangone, and he found some of the tortoise shell and brought it and kept it himself. And it is still in existence.[47]

539

TUITATUI, LEKAPAI AND SANGONE[48]

(A Variant)

It is said that there was a man named Lekapai and his famliy. After living together for some time, he said that they would remove to Samoa. They settled in Samoa and planted breadfruit, plantains, and yams. Suddenly a great storm arose and destroyed the plantation. Following the destruction Lekapai said: "Let us seek the wind and have a tussle with it."

So they set out in search of the wind. After Samoa was out of sight a little island appeared, but there was no opening through thé reef which surrounded it. When close to shore a big wave upset the boat. Lekapai, however, made a bound and clung to a big *hingano* tree from which he could look down. After a while he got ashore and found a small trail leading inland.

Lekapai went along this trail until he saw a beautiful girl standing beside her house. She inquired of him: "Whence come you that you enter

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[47] The Tongan Prince Consort Tungi possesses a fish hook reputed to be a portion of Sangone's shell.

[48] Told by Utuvai, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539
173
643
Upon hearing of Sangone's fate, the Tui Tonga prepared for a voyage to Samoa in search of Sangone's plates. When he arrived in Samoa he found the children playing with canoes at the shore. Among them was a boy named Lafaipana, who was the leader of their play. He called out: "Pay off and luff up to that dead candle-nut tree, for Sangone's plates are buried there." Thus the Tui Tonga by chance learned exactly where Sangone's plates were buried.

The Tui Tonga and his party went ashore and partook of kava while the food was being roasted. After a while the Tui Tonga exclaimed: "If only there were a bunch of wild plantains (of a kind called *pongiavao*) as a relish." The Samoans, however, did not know of this sort, so the Tui Tonga ordered them to search for some other sort of wild plantain that had been planted long ago. This was obtained and used as a relish to the kava. Then the food was brought from the oven and the Tui Tonga bade the people to sit down and eat. He apportioned the food, the back (*fakalaa*) and head (*huohua*) of the pig for one side, and the hind and front feet (*keumui* and *keumua*) for the other side.

Having finished the food, the Tui Tonga made declaration, saying: "What I have really come for is to search for Sangone's plates." The Samoans answered: "We know nothing about them." But Lafaipana cried: "They are buried under the dead candle-nut tree." Then the Tui Tonga said: "We will go and dig for them."

They went and dug. As they neared their goal the plates of Sangone shone forth and Lafaipana shouted: "Those are Sangone's plates." They dug further and, after completely uncovering the plates, took them up and bore them to the Tui Tonga. The Tui Tonga at once ordered preparations made for the return voyage to Tonga. Whilst the Tongans were preparing for the embarkation, Lafaipana asked that he be allowed to accompany the Tui Tonga to Tonga. To further persuade the Tongans to take him he gave them a thing that they much desired, namely, a pigeon's roosting perch. So Lafaipana accompanied the Tui Tonga.

539
173
Upon their arrival in Tonga, the Tui Tonga said he would have a casuarina tree on the weather side of the island cut down and taken to Samoa for Lafaipana, who had requested it. Whilst preparing for the trip for the casuarina tree the Tui Tonga's wife said: "Whoever gets a woman is not to bring her to Tongatabu, but to the other islands." When they reached the weather side of the island, Lafaipana said: "Do you think that I meant I wanted a real casuarina tree? I wish you to get me a girl that has not known a man and a woman that has not known a man."

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE THIRTEENTH TUI TONGA, THE DUMMY OF TOU WOOD[44]

539
173
643

When the Tui Tonga Talaatama died, there were no sons to succeed to the title of Tui Tonga. He had, however, a younger brother who was but a child. This boy, whose name was Talaihaapepe, had a toy in the shape of a wooden doll, which he called Tama Tou. When word was brought to the boy that he was to be made Tui Tonga, he objected and desired that his doll, Tama Tou, should be made Tui Tonga instead. Of such weight was the desire of this child of high rank that no one dared to object. So the wooden doll was made Tui Tonga.

Several years later, Talaihaapepe became convinced that such a condition of affairs was foolish, and so he had it announced that the Tui Tonga Tama Tou was dead. The wooden doll was then buried with customary ceremony and mourning in the two-terraced stone tomb called Langi Tama Tou. After that Talaihaapepe became Tui Tonga.

THE TWENTIETH TUI TONGA, TATAFUEIKIMEIMUA

Tatafumeimua, one of the two brothers concerned in the tale next related, is undoubtedly the twentieth Tui Tonga, Tatafueikimeimua. The second version of the tale speaks of the chief of the expedition to Samoa as being the Tui Tonga himself, although his name is not given. The Tui Tonga's name differs only from that of Tatafumeimua in this story in the insertion of the word *eiki,* chief. Tatafumeimua: *tatafu,* to strike fire; *mei,* from; *mua,* the combined villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga, Tongatabu, where resided most of the Tui Tonga; hence, to strike fire from Mua. The brother of Tatafumeimua was Nganatatafu: *ngana,* renowned; *tatafu,* to strike fire; hence, the renowned one who strikes fire.

NGANATATAFU BRINGS THE BONITO TO HAANO[45]

Tokua koe Tui Tonga e taha nae toho ua hono falealo, koe hingoa oe lahi ko Tatafumeimua, koe sii ko Nganatatafu. Nae nofo pe i Mua a Tatafumeimua, kae alu a Nganatatafu o nofo ki Haano.

It is said that there was a Tui Tonga who had two sons, the name of the elder was Tatafumeimua [who became the twentieth Tui Tonga], and the younger was called Nganatatafu. Tatafumeimua dwelt at Mua (in Tongatabu), and Nganatatafu went and dwelt at Haano (in the Haapai group).

Koe taimi koia nae ongo mai ha fefine hoihoifua mei Haamoa ko Hina. Pea kavea ae loto o Tatafumeimua i he ongoongo nae faa au mai, o ne pehe ke alu o fai ene tango ki ai.

At that time came a report about a beautiful woman in Samoa called Hina. And the mind of Tatafumeimua was taken up with the report of her that often came, and he said that he would go on a visit to her.

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[44] Told by Joel Pangia, the chief who probably would be Tui Tonga today if the office had not been abolished.

[45] From the original Tongan as published in the Wesleyan Methodist paper Koe Fanogonogo, vol. 1, pt. 7, pp. 7, 8, 1916. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

539 173 643 644 Nae teu ae folau, pea faila honau kalia o tuku atu ae vaka. I heenau feunga mo Haano, pea lea mai a Tatafumeimua ke nau afe ki ai o fakaheka mai hono tehina ke alu o fai haanau fekau. Pea fai.

Nae tau atu ae vaka ki Falemei aia koe fanga o Haano o fakaheka mai a Nganatatafu. Ko Ngana pe mo ene Fisi nae heka mai pea nau folau leva. Nae tau atu ae folau ki Haamoa, pea fekau e he taokete ke hifo ae vaka o hake, kae nofo a Ngana o leo vaka mo ene Fisi. Ko hono uhinga, he nae lotokovi a Tatafu ki hono tehina, 539 173 644 koeuhi koe tama koia nae hilu hono hoihoifua. Oku lau koe mea nae hulu ko hono langi. Tokua nae faa pongingia a fafine oka nau ka vakai ki ai, he nae hange ha fuhi fa kula hono ongo tulikifanga pea ka tatala hono fau kae tulekina hono lau e he matangi "koe afi ata!"

Koe uluaki po oe folau nae po ula pe o aho, pea pehe moe ua moe tolu. Kohai te ne lau ae feauhi laupisi nae fai, he feinga ke mau ae taahine!

Faifai kuo po fa nai pe nima, pea hifo mai ha kaunanga ke utu tahi ki he fanga oku tau ai ae vaka. Kuo hifo a Ngana mo ene Fisi i he kei taohau o fuifua, pea na toki hake o ai fau o fai ena fakalaalaa i he funga puke i he katea. Nae tuu fuoloa sii kaunanga o mamata, o ne mahalo koe faahikehe ena i funga vaka, he nae hoata mai ae langilangi oe pauu na ki uta. Pea ne fakangatata ene hohoni ke sivi aki, pe koe mama pe koe faahikehe. I he fanongo a Ngana ki he pato ae hohoni, naa ne oho ki hono sisi o ai, pea ne ala hake o palei hono fau koe tai ene fakaapaapa ki he fefine. Oiau! nae mate tuu sii kaunanga, pea i heene ofo hake nae ngalo ene utu tahi ka ne iva ki uta ke tala kia Hina ae mea foou kuo ne mata. Naa ne oho fua atu ki he fale o kalanga kia Hina, "He oku ongo mai ongo mai a Nganatatafu ke tatau moe tangata oku nofo i tahi." Naa ne lau pehe he nae faa ongo atu ki Haamoa a Ngana. Nae fekau leva e Hina ke lele ae kaunanga o tala kia Ngana ke alu ange ki hono lotoa. Kuo mate fiemohea ae taokete i he a noa pea ikai te ne ilo mo hono lahi ae hu

The voyage was prepared for, and the double vessel set sail. When they were opposite Haano, Tatafumeimua spoke and told his people to call in and take on board his younger brother for him to go and attend on him. And it was done.

The vessel anchored at Falemei which is the anchorage of Haano and took Nganatatafu on board. Ngana brought with him his Fijian attendant and they voyaged on. When the vessel reached Samoa, his brother told all on board to go on shore, except Ngana and his Fijian attendant, who were to remain on board to guard the vessel. The reason of such arrangement was that Tatafu was jealous of his younger brother, because the latter was very handsome. It is said that his hair was something wonderful. Women fainted when they saw it, because it was the color of red pandanus fruit over his two temples and when his turban was off and his hair was stirred by the wind "it was just like fire!"

The first night after they arrived was spent in dancing until morning, and it was the same on the second and third nights. Who will be able to tell all the nonsense that was done, in trying to win the girl!

On the fourth or perhaps the fifth afternoon a female servant came to get sea water at the beach where the vessel was anchored. Ngana and his Fijian had been for a swim and were sunning themselves on the deck of the vessel. The servant stood for a long time looking at them, thinking that there was a god on the deck of the vessel, because the hair of the rogue shone like noonday. So she rattled the empty coconut-shell water carriers to see whether it was a person of this world or a god whom she beheld. When Ngana heard the rattling of the coconut shells, he jumped for his girdle and put it on, and raised his hand and threw back his turban out of respect to the woman. Oh dear! the poor servant was dazed, and when she recovered she forgot all about getting the sea water and ran inland to tell Hina of the new thing she had seen. She rushed into the house and called to Hina, "The description that was brought about Nganatatafu fits the man who is at the beach." She spoke thus because of all the reports that had been brought to Samoa about Ngana. Hina sent the

ki lotoa a Ngana o mau a Hina pea nau ofo hake oku fai katoanga ae lotoa kuo mole ae fefine naa nau folau ki ai kuo mau e Ngana!

Nae teu leva ae folau ke foki mai kuo nau lili kia Ngana. Pea fai. Pea pehe e Hina kia Ngana, "Kapau teu atu ha kie e popo pea ne ongo pe koeha ka e mole pe. Oku ai eku ika koe atu, teu atu ia ke ke alu mo koe, e ta ia i ho fonua pea e ikai fai he tau kotoa, ka e fakahili tau e taha pe ua nai. Ko hono uhinga eku fai pehe ke toutou langai hoo manatu mai. Ka iloange kuou kamata ngalo pea ka fotu atu ae atu te ke toe manatu mai leva i he ha atu eku ika."

Nae tuku mai ae vaka, pea lele mai leva ae ongo foi atu o alu pe i olovaha. Faifai pea nau feunga moe motu ko Ofolanga pea fekau e he taokete ke hopo a Ngana o kakau mo ene Fisi ki Haano. Naa na hopo leva o kakau, pea lele mai ae ongo ika o nau o hake. Nae vave ae kakau a Ngana o ne tuuta, kae tomui sii Fisi o ne mate, kuo mei ofi ki uta. Nae toki manatu a Ngana ki he Fisi o ne hifo ki tahi ke vakai, ta ko sii Fisi ena kuo mate. Talu ai moe ui ae afua nae ilo ai ko Maukuomate. Nae hingoa ae fanga nae hake ai ae atu ko Aleipata koe tauhingoa ki Haamoa.

Nae tuku e Ngana ae tauhi oe atu ki he famili naa ne nofo ai i Haano. Koe faahikehe oe famili ko Haveatoke, naa ne vaka aki ae toke. Oku kei ha pe ae toke oka hau ae atu. Ka hau ae atu nae alu ae folau o tuku mai aki pe ae fohe ki uta, pea toki omi ae ngahi fakahaatuia o puipui aki. Ko hono puke e ikai faiaki ha kupenga, koe hau pe; pea fakahake foki ki uta. Nae tufa e Ngana ae inasi o pehe: "Koe ika e hake ki he oneone koe inasi ia ia o houeiki he kuo ha ki he mo noa, koe mea e mau i tahi e taki taha mau pe ene fangota. E tapu aupito ke hau ki ai ae houeiki o Haano, he koe ika toongapo, pea oka ikai ke kau ai

servant back to tell Ngana to come to 539 her enclosure. His older brother (Tatafumeimua) 173 was very sleepy from his long and useless vigil and did not 644 know when Ngana entered the enclosure and took possession of Hina; [643] and when he awoke the entertainment was going on in the enclosure, but the woman he had come to win was lost to him, because Ngana had taken her!

The voyagers prepared to return (to Tonga) as they were angry with Ngana. And they prepared. And Hina said to Ngana, "If I give you a fine mat it will rot, and it does not matter what I give you it will be lost. But there is my fish the bonito, which I will give to you to take, and it will breed in your land—not every year, but every alternate year or perhaps every third year. The reason I do this is to revive your remembrance of me. If you are beginning to forget, you will remember me as soon as you see the fish."

The vessel departed, and the two bonitos came and swam and followed. As soon as they reached the island of Ofolanga the older brother ordered Ngana to jump overboard and swim with his Fijian to Haano. They jumped and swam and the two fishes went with them. Ngana swam quickly and landed, but the poor Fijian was slow and died when he was very near to land. Ngana remembered his Fijian afterwards and went back to the beach to see if he had landed, and there was the poor Fijian dead. Ever since that the place has been called Maukuomate (found when dead). The beach to which the bonitos come is called Aleipata, a name from Samoa.

Ngana gave the bonito to a family at Haano to look after. The god of the family is called Haveatoke, and his incarnation (literally, vessel) was the eel. Even at the present time when an eel appears a bonito follows. 539 When the bonitos come, a vessel goes and 825 brings them in with a paddle to the shore, then the people bring coconut [226] leaves and screen them off. When captured they are not taken with a net, for they come of their own accord even to the shore. Ngana apportioned them 539 thus: "The fish that come up on the sand are the portion of the chiefs for it 173 is seen that they are a present, but of those taken in the sea, each person has 644

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 173 644 [784] ha niihi kehe, koe mea pe ae eva mo hono kau tangata."

539 784 825 Kuo maumau ae ngahi lao koia pea oku ikai kei siga ae atu he kuo feinga ae houeiki niihi ke fakasio ki ai, pea ke hange ko ha mea fakakolo ae toongapo a sii Hina ki siono so oona pe. Kae kehe koe toongapo hono hingoa aia koe pehe koe "toonga-oe-po" pea koe mea oku fai fakalilolilo pe oua e uiaki fano i hala. Nae faifai pea hulu ae atu pea tau aki e he kakai hange ha tau moli. Ko hono uhinga ia oe lea "Tauakiatu." Koe liuaki ae atu koe mea malohi tokua pea ko Tupou I. 539 173 koe eiki ngu lahi pea ne faa hohaa i he lau ki he malohi oe atu i Haano i he tau e taha, pea ne mea hifo ki tahi ke sivi ae malohi oe louaki oe atu. Koe kemo kuo ne mei au ki he Hakautuaniu aia koe lua oku tuu mamao mo uta: pea toki alu ha vaka o omi.

what he catches. It is very tapu for the chiefs of Haano to come to see the bonito, because it is a fish given in remembrance, and no one has anything to do with it, except the wooer and his own men."

The laws are all broken and now the bonito catch is poor as the chiefs want to look at it, and to make a town affair of the gift which Hina gave as a remembrance to her own lover. Anyway its name is *toongapo,* which is to say "toonga-oe-po" (ceremony-of-the-night), and it is ordained that it is not to be talked about in the road. This is done lest the bonitos come in such numbers that they would be dried like oranges. That is the connotation of the word *tauakiatu* (the war with bonitos). The return of the bonitos is very strong and it is said that Tupou I. a chief of great might was restless when the strength of the bonitos at Haano was talked about one year, so he went down to the sea to test the power of the return rush of the bonito. In a minute he nearly reached the reef called Reef-ribs-of-coconut-leaves, which stands far from land; a vessel had to go out and bring him back.

NGANATATAFU BRINGS THE BONITO TO HAANO [48]

(A Variant)

539 173 643 In Samoa, in the distant past, lived a village virgin, named Hina, of surpassing beauty. So great was her beauty that it was even spoken of in Tonga. The Tui Tonga heard of her beauty and he determined to go to Samoa and bring her back to Tonga as one of his wives.

The Tui Tonga started from Tongatabu, but on the way put in at Haano. There he took on board his boat a chief called Nganatatafu and his two *matapules* or attendants. On their arrival at the village where the virgin Hina lived, the Tui Tonga ordered Nganatatafu to remain on board and on no account to go ashore without his permission. As Nganatatafu was the handsomest man in all Tonga, the Tui Tonga feared that if he went ashore Hina would prefer him.

So the Tui Tonga and his attendants went up into the village and were welcomed by the Samoans, who made much of them, bringing them kava to drink and catching bonitos for them to eat. At that time the bonito was unknown in Tonga.

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[48] Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka Island, Haapai.

During the afternoon one of the girls attendant upon Hina went down 539
to the vessel and there espied Nganatatafu sleeping face downward on the 173
forward deck. She gazed in rapt admiration at the beautiful contour of his body and asked herself if he could be mortal. She made a slight noise in order to awaken him, but it had no effect. She tried coughing, but still he slept, and it was not until she had knocked together two empty coconut-shell cups that he awoke.

In a respectful manner she timidly asked: "Are you not coming ashore with the other chiefs?" He replied: "I cannot come now, but," with marked emphasis, "tell your mistress I shall come bye and bye." The girl departed and at the first opportunity told her mistress of the occurrence, enlarging on the man's beauty and her doubts as to whether he was not a being from another world.

Hina ordered the girl to keep the torches alight after dusk. When the sun went down Hina went and stood several times at the door. At last her patience was rewarded by the sight of her strange lover standing just outside the zone of light thrown by the torches. After a few minutes' conversation they agreed to run away together and immediately put their plan into execution. Almost at once the Tui Tonga heard of their flight. (643)
Standing up with anger depicted on his face, he thundered out: "It is of no use for us to remain here. Come, men, get on board and if Nganatatafu does not come, he must be left behind. That is all. Quick now."

The pair had not gone far when the noise of the embarkation reached them. Not caring to be left behind, Nganatatafu started to return. In spite of this Hina had still great love for him, so much had he fascinated her. Running after him she cried: "It will be of no use my giving you any of the fine Samoan mats, as the Tui Tonga will take them, nor can I give you anything of value as it will be lost in the same way." By this time they were on the beach and Nganatatafu was preparing to get on board, but Hina continued: "Take this bonito with you to Haano and once every year you will see it, as a proof that my love is unchanged." Saying this, she thrust a live bonito into his arms. He took it and placed it on board. Then the Tongans departed.

When the vessel was between the islands of Moungaone and Luahoko (in the Haapai group), the Tui Tonga said to Nganatatafu: "You and your two attendants must jump overboard and swim as best you can to Haano. See, it is not far off." Overboard they went and the bonito with them, for it had kept alive and had been flapping about on the bottom of the boat all the way from Samoa.

When nearing the shore, one of the attendants named Fisiu, called out: "I am done; I can swim no longer." Nganatatafu encouraged him to do

539 his best, as they had not far to go, but when they were close to a sandy
173 point, Nganatatafu saw that Fisiu was floating dead. He pulled him up on
the sandy beach and exclaimed: "Alas, what a disaster, brought up dead!"
To this day that sandy point is called Maumate (Brought-up-dead).

539 Hina was true to her promise, for once a year the bonito come very
825 close to Haano, almost onto the beach. This is reputed to be the only place
in Tonga where this fish comes close to shore. But should Tui Haangana
[173] (the lord of Haano) make his appearance on the beach whilst the fish are
coming in, they will straightway retreat and not return for a year, for
Tui Haangana is a descendant of Nganatatafu.

THE TWENTY-THIRD TUI TONGA, TAKALAUA, AND VAE[47]

539 There was a Tui Tonga named Takalaua, and his wife was Vaelavea-
173 mata, a woman of Ata, and child of a couple. It is related that when she
644 was born, she had a head like a pigeon. Because of this, her parents took
a dislike to her, left her on the island of Ata, and sailed away. After they had departed, a man named Ahe chanced to pass and found the child in the bush. He noticed it had a head like a pigeon, but he nevertheless took the baby to his wife and said: "Dear, here is a child for us, which I found at the residence of some people who have sailed away." So they cared for the little girl. As she grew she gradually lost the head of the pigeon and her foster parents began to see signs of what a beauty she was going to be. When she grew into womanhood they saw that she was a very beautiful woman. Because of her great beauty they hid her in their store room when anyone approached, for fear that the chiefs would seize her.

One day some of the fishermen of the Tui Tonga, on going to Ata with their net to catch fish, caught sight of the girl sitting and sunning herself before her house. She ran into her house, but it was too late, for the
539 fishermen had seen her. On their return to Mua, they informed the Tui
173 Tonga of it, saying that on the island of Ata they had seen a girl who
was unrivaled for beauty. The Tui Tonga ordered that a boat go to Ata
643 and bring her over to Mua (on Tongatabu). The name of the Tui Tonga
644 was Takalaua and the girl who was brought from Ata was known as Vae.

When Vae arrived the Tui Tonga's dancers were dancing the Fijian dance *mee*. The Tui Tonga ordered the girl Vae to be placed in the last row. It was the Tui Tonga himself who was beating the drum. As the dance proceeded, the beating of the drum was very imperfect, for the Tui Tonga was attempting to beat the drum and observe the newcomer at

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[47] Recorded in Tongan by the Tamaha Amelia, May 27, 1844. Preserved in the genealogical records of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte Tupou. Translated by Mrs. May Laurence.

the same time. Then the Tui Tonga ordered that the girl be brought from 539
the last row and placed in the second row. The girl was brought forward 173
and the dance continued, but still the beat of the drum was wrong. Then 643
the Tui Tonga ordered the girl to be brought to the front row. This time 644
the beating of the drum was correct, as he could see the girl without difficulty. The girl's name was Vae, but the Tui Tonga renamed her Vaelaveamata (Vae-face-wounder), because the drumsticks, not being properly used, had struck him on the face.

Vaelaveamata was then brought to the Tui Tonga's house and became the wife of Takalaua. Her children were Kauulufonuafekai, Moungamotua, Latuteovave, Melinoatonga, and Lotauai.

Takalaua was murdered, while he was having his meal at Mataaho (an island in the lagoon of Tongatabu), by a couple of men named Tamasia and Malofafa, whose tract called Namukatuki, was situated in Haatalafale, the hereditary lands of the Tui Pelehake. A woman went to make known 539
the news to the children of the Tui Tonga, who were sailing boats at 173
Niutao. (Some say that they were sailing boats at Nuku, but that statement 644
appears to be incorrect.)

The messenger arrived at Niutao and sat sideways on the beach with her feet under her. The place is named Faite in commemoration of this way of sitting. Then she spoke to the children thus: "Do leave off playing and return with me to Olotele (in Mua), as something has happened there." So the youths ceased sailing their boats and returned with the woman. As they proceeded they questioned her and she replied: "Only come along. I have some news (*talafoou*) for you." Consequently, this part of country is called Talafoou.

Upon arriving at Mua and finding their father dead, they kissed his feet. Then Kauulufonuafekai said to his brothers: "Do not bury our father now, but let us go and seek the murderers and slay them. Then we shall return and bury our father."

Then the brothers fought against the harborers of the murderers in Tongatabu and won. The murderers fled to Eua, but the brothers and their warriors forced them from that island and they fled to Haapai. Again the sons of Takalaua were in hot pursuit and forced them to flee to Vavau. They fought Vavau and won and the murderers sought refuge in Niuafoou. They were driven from there to Niuatoputapu, thence to Futuna. Although the brothers were successful in Futuna, Kauulufonuafekai was wounded. From Futuna the fugitives fled to Uea, where after a conflict they were captured. Then Takalaua's sons fought Samoa, parted company, and returned home separately, meeting, however, on some of

539 the northerly islands of the Tongan group before they returned to Tonga-
173 tabu to bury their father.

644 Kauulufonuafekai was appointed Tui Tonga. He apportioned certain
539 islands for his brothers to rule. He appointed Moungamotua Tui Haa-
173 takalaua. He was to reside at Fonuamotu (at Mua, Tongatabu) as he
644 was to be the protector of the Tui Tonga, who was liable to be assassinated.
643 So Kauulufonuafekai was safe as Tui Tonga, because his younger brother guarded him.

539 Takalaua, a son of the murdered Tui Tonga Takalaua, was made
539 governor of Eua. Haveatuli and Niutongi (or Niutongo) were sent to
173 Vavau to rule, while Kolomoeuto and Matauvave were made governors of
634 Haapai. Talapalo was appointed governor of Niuatoputapu, Makauka and Hakavalu of Niuafoou, and Elili of Uea.

539 Moungamotua, the Tui Haatakalaua, resided on the lower portion of
Fonuamotu and the Tui Tonga resided on the upper portion. Thus arose
173 a sort of dual division of people in Tonga, the upper (those associated
643 with the Tui Tonga) and the lower (those associated with the Tui Haatakalaua, and later with the Tui Kanokupolu) and each goes its own way according to its position. Each has its own way of making kava and distributing it and of seating chiefs in a kava party.

TAKALAUA AND HIS WIFE, ULUKIHELUPE (VAE)[48]

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Ko Ulukihelupe, koe tama ae fefine mei he api ko Haapulou, pea moe tangata mei he api pe koia. Koe hingoa oe fefine ko Finemee, ka koe hingoa oe tangata ko Sivao.	Ulukihelupe was the child of a woman from the place called Haapulou, and of a man from the same place. The name of the woman was Finemee (*fine*, woman; *mee*, dance), and the name of the man was Sivao (name of a plant).
Pea nae feitama ae fefine, na kaikaiafua ki he veka. Pea koe aho e taha, nae ikai ke mau ai ha veka, pea tala mai e he fefine ke omai ae lupe, oku nootaki ke tunu ke ne kai. Ka ko honau tevolo ae lupe. Pea tunu ae lupe o kai ae fefine feitama.	And the woman was pregnant, and longed to eat rail. One day when there was no rail, the woman said to bring the pigeon that was tied and to cook it for her to eat. But the pigeon was their god. Nevertheless the pigeon was roasted and the pregnant woman ate it.
Pea alu ae folau ki Vavau, ae eiki ko Matauvavau, pea na folau ai ae fefine feitama moe tangata. Pea matangi kovi, pea taofi mai ae vaka, o tau i he motu ko Ata, pea nau fuoloa ai.	And a vessel sailed for Vavau with the chief Matauvavau, and the pregnant woman and the man voyaged. And they had head winds, which caused the vessel to stop, and anchor at the island of Ata, and they were a long time there.
Pea koe po e taha, pea faele ae fefine, pea ne pehe ange: "Ala! kuou faele, koe kii lupe." Pea pehe ange e he	And one night the woman gave birth to a child, and she said: "Oh, dear! I have given birth to a pigeon." And

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[48] From a manuscript copied by Elia Malupo, a *matapule* (attendant), from the account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

motua: "Oku fefe?" Pea pehe ange e he fefine, "Koe tamasii, ka oku ulu kihe lupe. Ka koeha ho loto ki ai; he teu ma au, oka aho hake a pongipongi, pea tau fakaheka, kae mamata ae kakai ki ai. Tala e hai te tau fuoloa i heni, ke ta ahiahi tauhi, pe fefe?" Pea tala ange e he motua: "Ka ne ongo e mea ke fefe? Kapau oku pehe ho loto oou, oku mamahi hono fanaui, ka teu fefe au? Teu mama mo au, oka aho hake a pongipongi: E lelei ae ofa ki faitoka, oka ilo ehe kakai. Kae omai ke ave o liaki kei pouli." Ko hono tupuanga ia oe lea: "Koe lelei e ofa ki faitoka." Pea tuu hake ae tangata o faluku, ae taahine moe faeleanga oe fefine o ave o taotao ihe tuunga pulu, pea pongipongi hake, pea folau ae vaka.

Kae omai, ae ongo matua oe motu; koe hingoa oe motua ko Ahe; ka koe hingoa oe finemotua ko Tofue. Pea na au mai ki he apitanga oe folau, pea na fanongo ae tangi, pea na pehe: "Koeha nai ae mea oku tangini; koe tamasii ape? pe koe manu?" Pea ne too hake ae vaa akau, o heuheu aki ae veve, pea ne au atu ene heuheu ki he tuunga pulu, pea hahake ae ngatu, nae kofu aki ae tamasii. Pea ne pehe mai: "Ala! hau ange koe meani oku tangi." Pea pehe, e he finemotua: "Koeha?" Pea pehe mai e he motua; "Koe tamasii, ka oku ulu ki he lupe." Pea pehe e he finemotua: "Fakapo napaa, koe tamasii, nae faelei anepo, pea liaki ko ene hange ha tevolo." Pea tala ange e he motua: "Ta ave mua, ke ta ahiahi pusiaki, pe e moui, pe ikai. Pea tau vakai pe e iku fefe?"

Pea na au atu ki folau; pea kaukaui, pea takaii, pea vali enga, pea fafanga aki ae namoa. Pea tauhi, tauhi i pea osi ta tau e hongofulu, ma fa. Pea hoko ae taahine koia, koe muomua ia, i he fakaofoofa.

Pea koe aho e taha, pea folofola ae Tui Tonga ko Takalaua, ke alu ae vaka ko Nukumea ki Monuafe, Hele mo Velitoa, ke nau kupenga mai, ki he fuke aho a pongipongi. Ka tuai mai, e tamatei ae kau toutai. Pea alu, ae vaka o tala ae fekau kia Hele toutai

the man said: "How is that?" And the woman answered, "It is a child, but it has the head of a pigeon. What is your wish about it; I will be ashamed, when it is day to-morrow, and we embark, for the people to see it. Is it likely that we will be long enough here, for us to try and care for it?" And the man said: "Well, what can we do about it? If your mind is like that, after having given birth to it, what about me? I will be ashamed likewise when it is day to-morrow: It will be well to have love for the grave yard, when the people know. But give it to me to abandon while it is still dark." That incident gave rise to the saying: "It will be well to have love for the grave yard." And the man carried the child and the placenta of the woman and buried them under a rubbish heap. Morning came and the vessel sailed.

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Then came the couple of the island; the name of the man was Ahe and the name of the woman was Tofue. Coming to the camping place of the voyagers they heard crying, and they said: "What is it that is crying; is it a child or an animal?" And Ahe took up a stick, and stirred round the rubbish, and his stirring reached the heap of coconut husks, and the piece of tapa was seen, which covered the child. "Dear! here is the thing that was crying." The woman said, "What is it?", and the man replied: "It is a child, but it has the head of a pigeon." And the woman said: "Oh murder and brutality! It is a child, born last night and abandoned because it was like a spirit." And the man said, "Let us take it, and adopt it and see if it lives or not. We shall see how it will end."

And they returned to their vessel; and washed, and oiled, and painted the infant with turmeric, and fed it with chewed toasted coconut. They took care of the baby and cared for her till she was fourteen years old. And that maiden became the most beautiful of all maidens.

One day, the Tui Tonga Takalaua commanded that the vessel Nukumea should go to Monuafe and to Velitoa so that the fisherman Hele could catch fish with his nets at the following daybreak. If he and his men were late, the Tui Tonga said they would be killed. [643]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

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173 ki Velitoa; pea alu leva a Hele toutai
644 moe kau tangata ki Ata.

Pea nau tau atu ki Ata, pea oku kaukau ae taahine; pea tuu hake o hola ki he fale o toitoi, ihe loki. Pea tala ange e Hele ki he kau vaka: "Tukua e tau kupenga, ka tau lava ae taahine ni, ke tau ave ke unoho moe Tui Tonga." Pea nau po e ua, pea ikai ke nau mamata ki he taahine, pea tala ange e Hele: "Tau folau ki Tonga, o tala ae taahine ni ki he Tui Tonga ke ne afioi."

539 Pea nau folan mai kuo houhau ae
Tui Tonga, i he tuai mai e nau
173 kupenga; nae amanaki ke tamatei ae
kau tangata koia. Pea nau au mai ki
644 Ahofakasiu, pea folofola mai: "Mou
hopo mai ki loto ni. Koeha ne ikai ke
643 mou hau ai, i he aho nae tala atu,
ke mou hau ai? Ta! Koe kau tangata pauu kimoutolu." Pea lea mai a Hele: "Ei, oua keu fakamatala atu ae mea, ne mau tuai mei ai, pea toki tamatei kimautolu." Pea folofola ae eiki: "Fakamatala ke vave."

Pea lea mai a Hele: "Ei, koe fefine fakaofoofa aupito, aupito; oku ikai ke tatau mo ha fefine i Tonga ni; koe fefine tau moe Afiona. Oku mau tau atu, oku kaukau i tahi, Pea tuu hake, o hola ki he fale, o toitoi i he loki. Pea mau pehe: 'Tukua e tau kupenga, ka tau lama ae fefine ke tau ave ke na unoho moe Tui Tonga; he koe fefine fakaofoofa.'" Pea lelei leva ae houhau, kae folofola mai: "E oku fefe, mou o tala kia Ahe mo Tofue, ke tuku mai ae fefine naa mou mamata ai, pea ka na pehe mai: e ikai, pea mou hai aki ae kafa takai vaka ae ongo matua, pea mou ave o li i he loto moana ke na mate ai. Pea mou toki omai ae fefine." Pea nau folau leva, o tala ae fekau ki
539 he ongo matua, pea tali mai e Ahe:
"Oku lelei, te mou ave ae finemotua ni,
173 ka mou fakamolemole, mou tatali, kae
oua ke kaukau mo teuteu, pea mou toki
644 folau." Pea lea ange a Hele: "Oku
lelei, pea teuteu ke vave."

Pea tuku mai ae fefine mei loki, o fulutuitui, pea ave o kaukau i. Pea omai o takali, mo ai hono vala. Pea nau alu hake o fakahekeheka, mo tangi

And the vessel went, and told the message to Hele the fisherman at Velitoa; and Hele the fisherman went with his men to Ata.

And when they reached Ata a young maiden was bathing; and she got up and ran to the house and hid in the store room. And Hele told the crew of the vessel: "Leave off your fishing and try to catch the maiden for us to take as wife for the Tui Tonga." And they were there two nights, and they did not see the maiden, and Hele said: "Let us sail to Tonga, and tell the Tui Tonga about the young maiden so that he may know."

When they arrived the Tui Tonga was very angry, because their fishing had been so long; and he was preparing to kill the men. And they came to Ahofakasiu, and they were commanded: "You jump into the middle (of the kava ring). Why did you not come before on the day that was arranged for you to come? Why! You are a bad lot of men." And Hele spoke and said: "My lord, wait till I explain why we are late, then kill us." Then the chief commanded: "Explain quickly."

And Hele spoke and said: "My lord, a most beautiful maiden! There is not another woman like her in Tonga—a woman worthy of your Majesty. When we anchored, she was bathing in the sea, and she got up and ran away to the house and hid in the store room. And we said: 'Leave the fishing, while we watch for the woman for us to take for a wife for the Tui Tonga; because she is beautiful.'" Then the anger of the Tui Tonga was appeased, and he commanded: "Go, tell Ahe and Tofue, to let the woman that you saw come. And if they say, 'No,' then you tie the couple with the sennit rope of the vessel, and take them and throw them into the ocean to die. Then you bring the woman to me." And they sailed, and repeated the message to the couple, and Ahe answered and said: "All right, you can take the woman, but please wait till she bathes and dresses. Then you can sail." And Hele answered: "All right; but get ready quickly."

And the woman came out of the store room and washed with candle nut and was taken and bathed. Then she returned and oiled and put on her loin

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

sii ongo matua, pea na pehe mai: "Ofa atu Ulukihelupe, folau a." Pea ilo leva e Hele, ko Ulukihelupe hono hingoa.

Pea folau mai o tau i he Langonga, ka nau taki mai ae taahine ki Ahofakasiu. Pea toutou hala ae Tui Tonga, i he fakaofoofa oe taahine. Pea fehui mai ae eiki kia Hele, "Kohai hono hingoa?" Pea tala ange e Hele: "Ko Ulukihelupe, he nae pehe mai e he ene matua: 'Pea folau a Ulukihelupe.'" Pea na nonofo ae eiki mo Ulukihelupe, pea feitama, pea faele koe tangata, koe uluaki alo ia o Takalaua; ko Kauulufonua.

cloth. Then they went on board and the poor couple cried, and called to the girl: "Love to you Ulukihelupe, sail away." And Hele knew that Ulukihelupe was her name. 539 173 644

And they came and anchored at Langonga, and they led the maiden to Ahofakasiu. And the Tui Tonga kept missing (the drum which he was beating) because the maiden was so beautiful. And the chief asked Hele, "What is her name?" And Hele answered: "It is Ulukihelupe, and her parents said, 'And you sail away, Ulukihelupe.'" And they lived together, the chief and Ulukihelupe, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a son, who was Takalaua's first child, Kauulufonua.[49] 539 173 644 643

THE AVENGING OF THE MURDER OF TAKALAUA[50]

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At the time of the assassination of Takalaua two of his sons were nearly grown men. They were Kauulufonuafekai, the older, and Moungamotua, the younger.

At the time of their father's murder, the two youths were floating model canoes at the beach. A woman came to them and said: "The chief has expired." To this they replied: "That is something new, indeed." Because of their remark, the town at this place in Tongatabu is called Talafoou (To tell something new). The part of the beach where the youths swam their canoes is called Talafaite, because the woman who brought the message "sat down with her legs tucked under her (*faite* fashion) and told (*tala*) the news." The two youths at once ceased their canoe sailing and went ashore to learn exactly what had happened. They were informed that their father was really dead at the hands of two assassins, who were old men.

The murderers had fled, but the sons of the dead Tui Tonga set out in pursuit of them. They fought with the Tongatabu people who harbored the assassins and defeated them, but the two fugitives escaped to Haapai. The Tui Tonga's sons then proceeded to Haapai, but, after conquering the people who sheltered the assassins, they found that the pair had escaped to Vavau. There the Tui Tonga's sons fought and won, only to find that the assassins had again eluded them. The expedition then attacked Uea, but failed

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[49] Basil Thomson gives a charming version of this story together with the sequel which relates the slaying of Takalaua, the avenging of his death, and the appointment of the Tui Haatakalaua. The Diversions of a Prime Minister, pp. 294-305, William Blackwood and Sons, London and Edinburgh, 1894. [113]

[50] Told by Pahulu, of Faleloa, Foa island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

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to locate the culprits. Futuna was the next island visited, but equally without result.

The search was abandoned and they started to return. They had gone some distance before they realized that a third and younger brother had been left behind. Therefore, they turned and sailed towards Futuna again. The two brothers agreed to this plan: "If, when we arrive at Futuna, we find that our younger brother has been slain, let us slaughter all of the inhabitants of that country. On the other hand, if he is still alive, we will allow the inhabitants to live."

Meanwhile, the Futunans watched the second approach of the Tongan war vessel with fear and trepidation, lest they all be slaughtered. The younger brother of Kauulufonuafekai and Moungamotua, who was unharmed, assuaged their fears, saying: "If the vessel lands here, take me with you to the beach, but let me go ahead." The Futunans wreathed themselves with necklaces of chestnut (*ifi*) leaves. Then they approached the Tongan vessel, allowing the Tongan youth to go in front of them.

Kauulufonuafekai and Moungamotua were overjoyed when they saw their younger brother alive and well. They rewarded the Futunans as follows: "This is our gift to you. Should a vessel from Tonga come here, you may seize it and do what you like with it, but when the people come ashore they must be allowed to do as they please with everything on shore."

The brothers decided to sail for Uea again. They did so, but arrived at night. The two chiefs and their fighting men remained aboard, but two spies were sent ashore. These two found the Ueans slumbering. Upon looking about, however, they perceived a fire burning. They crept close and saw two old men sitting by it, conversing.

Said one old man: "All is well, as the eight roads will be guarded." When the spies heard this, they said: "That is a Tongan name," meaning the expression "eight roads (*halaevalu*)." From this some Tongan chiefs are named Halaevalu. They further heard one old man saying: "I will be Filifoto (Barbed). You will be Filitao (Barbed Spear). The spies whispered to each other: "Those, too, will be our names." From the two names was derived the name Fotofili.

The spies had recognized the two old men as the long-sought murderers. So they went to their vessel and reported to the brothers and then to the fighting men, saying: "The two assassins have been discovered by us on shore. They are making spears." Then the fighting men went ashore and captured the two assassins and brought them aboard. They were not executed at once, but were reserved for slow death in Tongatabu.

The assassins were put ashore at Mua and a great kava ceremony was 539
held. The two old men were placed in the center of the ring. Then the 173
man presiding over the kava ring said: "These two old men will furnish 644
the relish to our kava. Each of us may take the part that he desires as his relish." The kava drinking proceeded and those who wished cut and tore from the living old men the parts that they desired as relish. Gradually the two men died a most painful death.

Kauulufonuafekai became Tui Tonga. His oldest son was Fotofili. He was sent to Niuafoou as ruler. His instructions were to entertain and care for the crews of Tongan vessels that might come there or be wrecked there. The oldest son of Moungamotua was Taufa Tofua. He was sent to dwell in Tofua, with the same instructions as Fotofili. Thus originated the lines of Fotofili and Taufa Tofua, the descendants of the Tui Tonga Takalaua.

THE TWENTY-NINTH TUI TONGA, ULUAKIMATA I. OR TELEA[61] 539

A certain Tongan chief of the olden days was named Tui Halamaka. 173
This chief was in the habit of sailing to Uea (Wallis island). On the occasion of one of his trips there, the young chief of Uea, who was only a small boy, went on board the Tongan vessel and asked Tui Halamaka to let him voyage to Tonga. The Tongan chief was angry about it and sent the boy ashore. The boy was very sad, and went home to his father crying. His father asked him, "Son, why art thou crying?" The boy told his father of his desire to go to Tonga and how he had been put ashore. He begged his father to build him a boat that he might sail to Tonga.

His father consented to it and instructed his son to go over to the relatives of the boy's mother and tell them about it. They agreed to his wishes and a very large double-boat (*kalia*) was built.

The great double-boat was named the Lomipeau and in due time she was ready to sail to Tonga. Her cargo consisted of large stone blocks for the kings' tombs in Lapaha, Tongatabu island, including the stone blocks which where used in the Paepae o Telea (the tomb of the Tui Tonga Telea), also those used in the Makahokovalu in Uiha island, Haapai. The Lomipeau then sailed on her maiden trip to Tonga. Kao and Tofua islands (both lofty volcanic islands) were sighted on the way and finally Tonga was reached. The *katea* (the larger hull of the double boat) went up to Mua through the passage of Manavanga. The passage of Nukuleka was the passage of the Lomipeau's *hama* (the smaller hull of the double-boat).

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[61] Told by the Reverend John Kuli, a native of Wallis island, residing in 1921 in Neiafu, Vavau, Tonga.

539 173 She unloaded her cargo in Mua. The ashes, emptied from her oven, were thrown overboard near the beach, and became the small island of Mounu. The stones that were used for "rowlocks" were also thrown into the water and this was the origin of the peninsula of Fonuamotu. Then the crew set sail for Uiha island where the stone for the tomb Makahokovalu was discharged.

HOW THE ISLAND OF FONOIFUA BECAME THE PROPERTY OF TUI AFITU[illegible]

539 173 644 Two handsome Vavau men,Lolomanaia and Lepuha, went from Vavau to Tongatabu to see the daughter of the Tui Tonga—a girl named Fatafehi, whose reputation for beauty had spread far. Upon arriving in Tongatabu, Lepuha hid while Lolomanaia, who bore the title of Tui Afitu, went to see the lady. She told Lolomanaia that she would marry him. So Fatafehi and Lolomanaia prepared to sail to Vavau to be married.

When the boat left the sheltering reefs of Tongatabu and started across the open ocean, Fatafehi became seasick and lay down. As the boat was approaching Fonoifua (in the southern part of the Haapai group) she felt better and sat up. She noted the neighboring island and asked its name. Upon being told that it was Fonoifua, she said to Lolomanaia: "That is my first son," and therewith she gave the island to Lolomanaia (Tui 539 173 Afitu). Today it belongs to the present Tui Afitu, the descendant of Lolomanaia.

The chief whom Tui Afitu dispossessed was called Taifonoifua. He continued to live in the island after it was made Tui Afitu's property, [644] although none of his descendants live there now. Fatafehi is said to have been the female Tui Tonga and hence had the power to dispose of the island as she saw fit.

[illegible] Told by Simeon Havili, mayor of Fonoifua, Haapai.

TALES ABOUT THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Tales concerning the line of Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, now occupying 643
the Tongan throne, are not numerous. This is probably due to the fact [538]
that the Tui Kanokupolu family was in origin a collateral branch of the [178]
Tui Tonga's family, which arose in the seventeenth century. It lacks the hoary antiquity of the Tui Tonga dynasty. Its lateness precludes its being enshrouded in legend.

I have but two versions of a single tale to present. They bear the 128
earmarks of authenticity, although I have been unable to learn to what 539
Tui Tonga the heroine was married.

TUUTANGA AND KINIKINILAU[38]

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The scene of this tale is Tafaata, a tract on the island of Nukunuku- 173
motu (near Tongatabu). 644

The daughter of Atamataila, the second Tui Kanokupolu was called 643
Tuutanga. One day she was being carried in a litter along the shores of Nukunukumotu, having been brought from Hihifo (in Tongatabu). She was being transported to Mua (in Tongatabu) where she was to become the bride of the Tui Tonga.

As the lady and her attendants reached Tafaata, Kinikinilau, her lover, 539
was standing there. He signaled Tuutanga by throwing to her a fruit of 173
the pandanus tree, sharpened like a tooth. Tuutanga picked up this fruit 644
and knew that it had been thrown by Kinikinilau. She ordered the bearers to put down the litter and she went to meet Kinikinilau. Kinikinilau told Tuutanga that when she arrived at the Langi (literally, the sky, but here meaning the Tui Tonga), she must remember Tafaata, their last meeting place.

Tuutanga returned to her litter and was carried to Mua. There she 539
became the Tui Tonga's wife. After a time she conceived and gave birth 173
to a son who was named Tafolo.

After bearing the Tui Tonga a son, Tuutanga returned to her old 644
home. She could not forget Tafaata until she became pregnant to Kini- 643
kinilau. When her pregnancy was made known to the Langi (the Tui Tonga), the word went forth from the Langi that if she gave birth to a man-child, he was to be named Paku and was to become the Tui Tonga's fisherman. A male child was born and so named. Fakafanua, noble of Maufanga, is a descendant of Paku.

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[38] Told by Taani, mayor of Nukunukumotu, Tongatabu group.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TUUTANGA AND KINIKINILAU[84]

(A Variant)

539 It is said that the second Tui Kanokupolu, Atamataila, had a daughter
173 called Tuutanga. The Tui Tonga heard of her and sent a message to
644 Atamataila to bring him his daughter that they might live together. Atamataila
ordered his litter bearers to carry the girl to the Tui Tonga. So
643 they started off on their errand of taking the girl to the Tui Tonga.

539 When they were opposite Siesia (on the island of Nukunukumotu) it
is said that a very handsome man by the name of Kinikinilau was there.
173 He lived in Maufanga and hearing that the girl was being taken to Mua,
644 he went immediately and waited by the roadside for the travellers to pass. Whilst waiting on the little mound he bit a pandanus fruit, leaving his tooth marks in it (literally, "toothed it"). When the travellers came opposite him, he threw the pandanus fruit which fell on the girl. She immediately picked up the fruit and recognized that it was from Kinikinilau.

She then said: "Put down the litter, as I want to relieve myself." The litter was quickly set down and the girl went to the little mound in Siesia, known as Tafaata, on which Kinikinilau was standing. There they conversed. Kinikinilau told her to go, but when she became a "relative" of the Langi (the Tui Tonga) she was to remember Tafaata and from that she would remember Kinikinilau. They bade each other farewell and the girl returned to the road and stepped into her litter. It was lifted by the bearers and she was carried on until they reached the place of the Tui Tonga.

[643] Tuutanga and the Tui Tonga lived together and the woman bore him a male child who was named Tafolo. The boy was growing up, but his mother had not forgotten Kinikinilau's saying: "When you have become the Langi's (Tui Tonga's), remember Tafaata." One day she went to Kinikinilau. She lived with him. She became pregnant and bore him a son who was named Paku. From Paku sprang the name of Fakafanua, for Paku's son was named Fakafanua. [Fakafanua is the title of the chief who is lord of the district adjacent to the village of Maufanga, Tongatabu island.]

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[84] Told by Moungatonga, formerly of Fotuhaa. In 1920 he was living at Pangai, Lifuka, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TALES ABOUT LOAU AND THE ORIGIN OF KAVA

Four versions of the story of the origin of kava are related here. All of them connect with it the chief Loau of Haamea in central Tongatabu. In certain of the versions Loau is called the Tui Tonga, but he was not, as he was only a chief who was apparently contemporaneous with the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. One version presented here was related by Fevanga, the modern bearer of the name that is prominent in the story. All versions with one exception make Eueiki island the place of origin of kava. The exception names Eua as the place, but, owing to the similarity of the two names, I am inclined to regard this as an error. 539 173 539

KOE TALATUPUA KI HE TUPUANGA OE KAVA MOE TO

Koe ongo matua ko Fefafa mo Fevanga, naa na nonofo i Eueiki. Nae alu ae motua o takanga he Tui Tonga. Naa ne foki ki hono api ki motu pea mea pe mo alu o a ahi ki he Eiki ki Mua. Pea faifai ene toutou alu pea ne fakatau folofola ange ki he Eiki, ke mea mo nau fakahaue hake ki motu.

Pea haele ai ae Tui Tonga ki Eueiki ihe taimi e taha, ka nae honge ae motu. Koe fuu kape pe e taha nae tuu ihe api oe motua, pea ihe enau tuuta atu nae ave ae alangavaka oe houeiki o tuu o fakafalala ki he fuu kape pea nau feiloaki ai moe motua. Pea alu ai o fakaafu ene umu pea kuo holi holo koe feinga ki he fuu kape ka koe tuu ai ae alangavaka oe houeiki koe Tui Tonga ko Loau aia nae alu kiai pea nae nofo ofi ki he fuu kape a Loau. Pea ofi ai ke tao ae umu ae ongo matua, koe ai ke tao ai ae fuu kape, pea na holi ai ke mea mai a Loau ki fale kae ata mai ae fuu kape ke ta mai ke tao. Pea faifai pea toki haele mai ai ae eiki ia ki fale pea toki ta ae fuu kape, o tao ae umu kana holi feinga. Koe ikai hano kiki pea tai mai ai a Kavaonau ke kiki aki ae umu.

Pea tao pea moho pea fuke pea osi fuke ae umu pea omi ki he Eiki kia Loau. Pea ne fakafetai mai ki he ngaue, one pehe mai, "Koeha kuo mau-

THE ORIGIN OF KAVA AND SUGAR-CANE[88]

Two persons (a man and a woman) called Fefafa and Fevanga dwelt at Eueiki. The man was an attendant of the Tui Tonga. He returned to his home on the island, but often went and visited the Chief at Mua. After continually going, he addressed the Chief and asked him to sail over on a pleasure trip to the island.

And Tui Tonga went to Eueiki at a time when there was a scarcity of food at the island. Only one big *kape* plant (a plant whose root is eaten but is very peppery) stood on the man's premises, and when they landed, the gear of the vessel of the chiefs was taken and placed against the *kape* plant, and they went to see the man. And the couple went and prepared the native oven, and they desired earnestly to get the big *kape* plant, against which Loau's canoe gear was resting. Loau had come and was sitting very near to the great plant, then the time came for the food to be put in the oven of the man and woman, and they needed the big *kape* plant, and they wanted very much to get it. Therefore they asked Loau to go into the house, so they might be at liberty to cut the big *kape*. And after some time the chief went into the house, then they cut down the big *kape*, and they baked the food. But they had no meat so they killed Kavaonau (their daughter) as meat for their oven.

And the food was cooked, and taken out of the oven and brought to the Chief Loau. And he thanked them for preparing the food, but he said, "Why

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[88] Recorded by Mrs. Rachel Tonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

133 valed by considerable stretches of water. These groups, from north to south,
are Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu. Of the three, Tongatabu has the largest
land unit in an island which lends its name to the entire group. This island
was, culturally and politically, the center of Tongan life.

121 Archaeological investigation, extended to cover as much of each of the
172 three geographical divisions of the Tongan archipelago as available time and
184 the distribution of favorable sites warranted, failed to discover any important
128 differences between the archaic remains found in different islands. This
cultural uniformity renders it desirable to treat the whole of Tonga as a unit
in the present report, rather than to give separate archaeological surveys of
any sort of geographic subdivisions.

144 The inhabitants of Tonga are, predominantly, full-blooded Polynesians.
161 Probably never much exceeding twenty-five thousand in number, the Tongans
have approximately that population today.

An apology is perhaps due for presenting my subject in a form which
128 requires the reader to peruse the entire detailed outlay of evidence in order
to obtain a gist of the pertinent facts and the related conclusions. It seems
to me that most of the detail is essential to a general understanding of involved
problems, and that conclusions, even general remarks, are devoid of meaning
when separated from the detail of listed phenomena. I have, therefore,
included all the involved data in the running discussion, in order to give the
specifically interested student an intelligent, unabridged representation of the
field.

172 On first consideration, the archaeological outlook in Tonga is not promising.
114 The student finds here a mottled field, poor in stratified deposits
attributable to human sources, but rich in artificial monuments of earth and
114 stone. The greater part of these have not been carefully examined by preceding
investigators. Such as have been found mentioned in published
accounts have generally been treated as of unknown or doubtful origin.
173 Local mythology has taken full advantage of these wonders and has accounted
for their presence in many fanciful ways. There is, however, a much more
plausible group of traditions, practically free from dependence upon superhuman
agencies, accounting for these structures in a not illogical manner.
173 These traditions, surprisingly consistent in their wide repetition and flatly
114 historical in style, have too frequently been overlooked altogether or purposely
disregarded by investigators.

316
172 down until a natural plane of lateral cleavage was reached. Wooden poles
483 were then used as levers to lift the loose slab from its bed, and other poles
were slipped under the slab across the cavity formed by the removal of the
172 stone. Skid poles were placed transversely across the path over which the
[316] stone was destined to move, and the slab was started on its way to the building
site by means of tug-ropes and unstinted cooperative man power. Levers
were used at places where progress became exceptionally difficult. The
process of hauling stones overland over skidways was called *makafunualoto;*
172 the officer in charge was called *mailau.* A quarry site on Lifuka Island,
316 Haapai, is shown in Plate I.

TRANSPORTATION OF STONE

172 Stone structures were found on islands where no quarries could be
located, and stone quarries on islands where there are no stone structures.
172 That large stones were carried over considerable water distances is evidenced
by the fact that no stone structures, aside from one small burial cist, was
505 found on Motutapu or on any neighboring island closer than Tongatabu,
whereas stones 6 feet wide and 10 feet long have been removed from the
Motutapu quarries.

505 Living informants give the following account, remembered from the testimony of the preceding generation, of how stones were taken from one island to another:

> [501] The boats, at first the *tungiaki* and later the *kalia,* were large double-hulled sailing
> vessels, bridged with spacious decks, quite capable of carrying heavy loads. The vessel
> 505 was brought as near to the shore as possible without running the risk of grounding, and
> 504 there anchored to stakes set up on the shore. The anchoring place was usually at the
> very edge of a coral shelf, extending outward from the main shoreline, which was submerged at high tide and comparatively dry at low tide. The stone was dragged over
> 505 skids to the edge of this coral shelf. Heavy wooden poles were then placed each with
> 483 one end on the deck of the vessel and the other end crossing the abrupt edge of the coral
> shelf. These served as skids over which the stone was dragged onto the deck, where it was carefully adjusted and balanced, then tied by many ropes radiating from the stone to various parts of the vessel. In removing the stone from the vessel the reverse order was used. Some of the smaller stones were carried by groups of men, selected for their great strength, who placed the stones on the decks of the vessels without the aid of skids.

173 Certain traditions credit a large vessel named *Lomipeau* with bringing
172 stones to Tongatabu from Uvea (Wallis) Island, for use in the construction
of Telea's tomb, *Paepaeotelea* (p. 51). The boat is described as being so
505 large that its hulls passed on either side of the island of Hungatonga, while
the deck swept over the tops of the trees. As all the stones in Telea's tomb
are coral limestone whereas Uvea is a volcanic island, it seems that the only
possible element of truth in this legend is that some of the stones used in the
structure may have been brought from other islands.

173 The *esi* on Kafoa hill is said to have been built at an ancient date for Kafoa, a son of one of the native kings. One account gives the name of the prince as Kafoamotalau; another (13, pp. 96-98) names two princes, Kafoa and Talau (Kafoamotalau), and states that these royal youths from Tongatabu were visiting in Vavau. Two of their attendants, who had been sent by their masters to Tongatabu to snare pigeons, were unfaithful to

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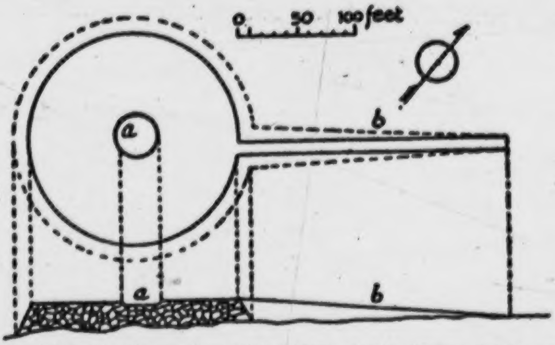

[491] FIGURE 2.—Plan of *esi* mound on Kafoa Hill, Neiafu, Vavau, height 7 to 10 feet; diameter at base 100 feet, diameter at top 85 feet: *a*, central pit about 1 foot deep and 13 feet in diameter; *b*, earth roadway 115 feet long, 6.5 feet wide with a grade of about 10°.

173 their mission and returned to Vavau without the pigeons. To atone for this disobedience, they set about to build an *esi* on the hill which is now called Kafoa. When it was finished, they told Kafoa and Talau of their transgression and of their atonement. The young chieftains were pleased and proposed to race to the *esi*, the winner's name to be applied to the mound. Kafoa won.

173 This story mentions various points of interest apparently associated with
172 the mound, most of the places could not be located. The beach *manutunfanga*
(where the birds stand) is just below the hill; many sea birds were observed
173 to congregate there. Parts of the road *tausia*, ascending the hill from the
172 beach, were identified (p. 89). The *halanukonuka* (road of sweet scented
shrubs) is said to be the road which still follows the crest of the ridge lead-
491 ing up from the interior of the island toward the mound and along which
[137] many flowering shrubs are still to be seen. The *halakavakava* (bridge road)
may refer to the long inclined approach leading to the top of the mound.
173 The artificial mound *tofaki* could not be located. The names of ornamental
172 trees associated with the mound, *tupouahau* (*hau*, king) and *kainangamofae*
345 (place of eating with mother), suggest that the structure was an *esi*.

construction, obviates the necessity of assuming outside influence. Old 172
residents of Utungake report that the *esi* was built before their time in honor 345
of a chieftain by the name of Tuita. But as Tuita is a family title rather [173]
than a personal name, and there have been Tuitas in every generation for a long time, the name furnishes no information as to the age of the structure.

4. Pitoopapuni (Umbilical-cord-of-Papuni) mound on a hill top on the northeast end of Tofua Island, Vavau.

The mound is 1 foot in average height with a flat circular top 11 feet in diameter. It is made of earth retained on all sides by a circle of rough coral stones. Many [137]
toa (*Casuarina*) trees are growing on and about the mound; they are the only ones seen on the island. The site offers a splendid view of the surrounding islands and is exposed to breezes that do not visit the lower places. This mound is described by 172
local residents as the place where the umbilical cord of a chief, Papuni, reputed to 345
have been a prince of the Tui Tonga dynasty was buried.

846

The burial of umbilical cords in *esi* mounds, as well as in other types [173]
of mounds was a common practice. The original name and purpose of this *esi* was probably overshadowed by the very high rank of Papuni, who became associated with the mound through the umbilical cord ceremony. The [103]
renaming of points of interest seems to have been a rather common occurrence.

5. Siakanume (*sia*, mound; *kanume*, possibly derived from *kano*, ab- 172
breviation of *kakano*, the inside or heart, and *mei*, the breadfruit tree, the 345
mound is surrounded by breadfruit trees). The situation commands a fine view of the surrounding islands and sea and faces the cool trade winds. Local informants were agreed that the mound is an *esi* of a former Nomuka [173]
chieftain whose name is now forgotten.

Siakanume consists of a circle of dressed, rectangular, coral stones, set up with their long edges uppermost and with ends in close contact with adjoining stones, forming a wall 1 foot high and 0.4 foot to 0.5 foot thick. The circle of stones averages 20 feet in diameter, and encloses an area nearly filled with earth to constitute a level platform. Four monumental stones, each about 2.5 feet in height, rise from the retaining wall to stand respectively at the four approximate cardinal points of the circle. The southernmost of these monuments has the superior corners lopped off so as to form a gently pointed top. Like the stones in the *esi* at Utungake these monumental stones have special shapes, but there is little doubt about the primitive origin of the structure and monuments.

6. Makahokovalu (Eight-stone-pieces) on the northwest shore of the island of Uiha, Haapai.

Makahokovalu *esi* formerly consisted of a rectangular stone enclosure filled with earth to constitute a platform. The side toward the shore is now missing, having been undermined and so destroyed by wave erosion, but some of the large stones originally in the wall lie upon the beach. The remainder of the structure is in fairly good condition, although the flat top is entirely covered with a thick tangle of trees and brush (fig. 4).

The three walls remaining are composed of large, smoothly dressed, rectangular slabs of coral reef limestone which have an average apparent height of 3.7 feet, an

172 345 212

of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of representations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern markings.

172 345 346 114

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Makahokovalu as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaeological evidence of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference to the shoreline.

172 345 764

Makahokovalu shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan *esi*. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particularly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

172 345

The name Makahokovalu may possibly be derived from an original number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could be found. 172 345 801 In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefelefevalu (Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siahalavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical significance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu. 172 345

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon (p. 63). [173] [643] The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining walls average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about 3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and componant parts of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pieces are lapped with no apparent regard as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9 feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

172 horizontal, its original position probably was vertical. Tradition defines this slab as
345 the back rest of the king when seated upon the mound.

8. Siumafuauta, east of Maofanga, Tongatabu, 250 feet from low tide
172 mark near the point of land called Tukutonga. It is described by Cook
345 (4, vol. 1, p. 289) in the following words:

> 175 At this place is a work of art, which shows, that these people are capable of some design, and perseverance, when they mean to accomplish anything. This work begins on one side, as a narrow causeway, which, becoming gradually broader, rises, with a gentle ascent, to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length seventy-four paces. Joined to this is a sort of circus, whose diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway that joins it, with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side, another causeway of the same sort descends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral stones, with earth on the surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs; and, from its decaying in several places, seems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly, it seems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called Etchee.

172 Siumafuauta stands on level ground, practically in a mangrove swamp
345 called Tafaloto, at a place where the swamp merges with the lagoon.

The structure is a circular, flat-topped mound 18 feet high and 100 feet in diameter
at the top. The walls are of rough though smoothly piled pieces of coral stone, and
172 stand at an angle of about 80° from the horizontal. From the southwest an inclined
road 24 feet wide and 140 feet long leads to the top of the *esi*. A similar inclined
345 approach ascends from the east. From the top of the mound the road extends 137 feet
491 with a width of 27 feet, then turns northward for 20 feet with a width of 12 feet
(Pl. II, *C*). Both approaches have stone faced sides exactly like those of the mound
proper, and are paved with coral gravel. Near the center of the flat top is a circular,
172 flat-bottomed pit 22 feet in diameter and 0.9 foot in depth, walled on the sides with
345 vertical slabs of crudely dressed stone. Individual stones in this ring do not exceed
3 feet in length and are from 0.4 foot to 0.7 foot in thickness.

Except in type of elevation, Siumafuauta resembles Kafoa and, like
Kafoa, is the center of controversy as to its original intent and use. Some
[491] native residents refer to it as an *esi;* others, as a pigeon mound. Those
explaining it as a pigeon mound cite as evidence the central pit and the presence of undisputed pigeon mounds in the immediate neighborhood which
seem formerly to have been connected to Siumafuauta by roads paved with
coral gravel.

On the other hand, an old tale has it that the Tui Tonga Pau, one of the
173 later kings of the ancient dynasty, came to dwell at the point called Tuku-
172 tonga in order to superintend the building of a proposed causeway crossing
345 the lagoon to Mua, the traditional capital of the Tui Tonga. His sister,
[342] the Tui Tonga Fefine, whose name was Siumafuauta, came with him. The
king then built the large mound as a foundation of a house for his sister

who lived there until Pau died and the causeway project was abandoned. 173
This narrative does not account for the central pit of the mound (Tongan 172
houses did not have pits within them), nor does it explain why the Tui 345
Tonga Fefine should have had such a grand foundation for her house at 342
this place of temporary dwelling, while neither she nor any other Tongan
was accustomed to large elevated platforms at their places of permanent
residence. There is no evidence on the Tukutonga side of the lagoon of 173
the causeway said to have been begun by Pau and if there is any foundation 172
of truth to the story it seems more probable that a mound, already in
existence, was selected as a suitable site for the house of the Tui Tonga 345
Fefine on account of the low, wet ground. But this does not explain the
purpose for which the mound was originally built. Cook says definitely [175]
that it was called an "etchee" *(esi)* belonging to the Tui Tonga of his time, [643]
Poulaho, and that it was of "no modern date," which information sheds
no light upon the builder or the original use of the structure. It is here
classed with *esi* because of its remarkable similarity to Kafoa. It may be
that some mounds, originally built as pigeon mounds, were converted through
use into *esi*.

PIGEON MOUNDS

CLASSIFICATION

Pigeon mounds or *siaheulupe* (*sia,* mound; *heu,* pigeon snare; *lupe,* 172
wild pigeon), are natural structures, artificial structures, or artificial struc- 345
tures situated upon natural risings exclusively employed by chiefs and their 223
retainers as places to which wild pigeons could easily be decoyed and 565
snared.

Men of less than chiefly rank often snared pigeons for food using the *heu,* a large, two poled net which did not necessarily involve the use of any sort of mound. But pigeon snaring as participated in by chieftains was a highly organized sport for which the mound was deemed essential. As a matter of fact, the practical purpose of the mound is not altogether clear, unless it furnished the wielders of the *heu* net an increased elevation, and so increased their reach.

In describing the method of snaring pigeons, informants speak of two 172
types of mounds. Type I, present in all provinces where pigeon mounds 345
were located, possessed two essential features: (a) a circular platform of 223
stone, or of earth, supported by stone retaining walls, rising several feet 128
above the surrounding ground; (b) a centrally located pit averaging 20
feet in diameter, as deep as the artificial mound was high, and laterally
lined with perpendicular retaining walls of stone.

172 345 223 Briefly, the mound was used as follows: The sportsmen occupied the structure, some on the mound surface where they manipulated the *heu* poles, and some in the pit to take the pigeons from the snare. Captive pigeons, attached to long cords, were allowed to fly among the tree tops above the mound where they served as decoys to attract their wild kin. When the wild pigeons came, lured by the calls of the decoys, the *heu* manipulators dropped the net over them and brought them down into the pit, where they were caught and disposed of by the men assigned to that task.

The mounds of Type II lacked the large, deep, central pit of Type I. In its place was a depression 15 to 20 feet in diameter and seldom more than 1 foot in depth. One informant explained that the *heu* manipulators lay prone in these depressions, but such an explanation, unsupported by corroborative testimony, is of doubtful value. No good argument offers itself to show the practical necessity for a pit of any character in such structures, but the shallow type of pit seems especially useless. These shallow pits might be regarded as more or less useless survivals of the more archaic, deeply pitted mounds, but no evidence for such an assumption is apparent. In the following descriptions of pigeon mounds only artificial ones are included. 172 345 [128]

MOUNDS IN VAVAU

1. Kaufotutata, on the eastern outskirts of the town of Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau, Type I.

[491] Kaufotutata stands on a natural rising overlooking the sea to the north. Its measurements are: diameter at base, 100 feet; diameter at top, 80 feet; height, depending upon ground contour, 3 to 7 feet. Its sloping sides are faced with a compact layer of rough coral stones. The pit, originally about 19 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, has recently been filled to allow a house to be built. Its sides are vertically walled with stones like those used in the outer wall. From the south, a dirt road 20 feet long and 6 feet wide leads to the top of the mound. The stone work of the mound is continued along the road with similar slopes. This pigeon mound was built, according to tradition, by a prince of the Tui Tonga family named Moka.

Other pigeon mounds are reported from Vavau, but these were not located, unless Kafoa (p. 11) served at times in that capacity.

MOUNDS ON UALEVA

[223] [173] Judging from the number of pigeon mounds, the island of Ualeva, Haapai, must have had at one time an enviable reputation as a place for pigeon snaring. Local informants agree that these were built by Matauvave I, who was the first known administrator of Haapai to be appointed by the Tongan kings. Geneological evidence places the time for his assuming this office at about 1540-1550 A. D.

towards the north. Both of these branches can be traced for several hundred yards 172
of meandering course before they become too indistinct to follow. A second road ex- 491
tends eastward from the mound for a short distance and then disappears.

There is no central pit or other surface peculiarity on Siamoatao, which 172
brings to mind the similarly pitless mounds on the island of Ualeva (Nos. 345
8, 9 and 10). The suggestion that such mounds may have been temporary
abodes of chieftains engaged in pigeon snaring is here repeated as no other
explanation is known.

The roads associated with these mounds probably served to furnish dry 172
access to them across the surrounding swamp. Their technical structure con- 491
stitutes a unique feature not observed elsewhere in old Tongan roads (p. 89).

UNCLASSIFIED MOUNDS

1. Tuavavau, several miles northwest of the town of Utungake, on the 172
island of Utungake, Vavau (fig. 15). 34

According to a tradition recorded by Gifford (13, p. 202), Tuavavau was
the name of a beautiful girl who lived on this mound. The story is that many 172
lovers camped about the mound where they could often see her. Among 34
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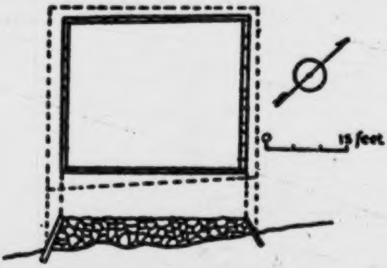

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FIGURE 15.—Plan of Tuavavau, Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau, height 2 to 6 feet, length at top 35 feet, width at top 29 feet.

these was the great chieftain Tuilakepa. Finally their unsought attentions 172
drove the girl to distraction and she leaped over the cliff into the sea. There 34
is said originally to have been a circle of small mounds about this structure, 173
the sites for the houses of the many lovers. None of these mounds could be
located. Intensive agricultural pursuits about the place may well have de- 172
stroyed them, if they ever really existed. 34

Tuavavau is an artificial rectangular structure, built upon a rocky elevation near the shore commanding an excellent view of the surrounding country. The entire mound is solidly built of undressed slabs of coral "sandstone," save for a surfacing which consists of a row of dressed rectangular slabs set up on edge along the sides which stand at a slope of about 70°. The straight sides of the platform are placed quarterwise with

172 34 the compass. Many of the undressed stones in the body of the platform are sufficiently large to require several strong men to move them. Most of the dressed surface slabs have been removed recently to build a wall about the Wesleyan church at Utagnake. The only large one left in place measures 5.2 feet in height, 2.7 feet in width and 0.7 foot in thickness.

172 34 333 This square structure with its sloping, slab-surfaced sides is a form of stone masonry not at all characteristic of Tongan work. Its whole character seems more in harmony with Fiji and I am inclined to believe that this is the foundation for some important building erected directly under Fijian influence, if not actually by Fijians.

172 34 2. Unnamed mound on the island of Mango, Haapai (fig. 16).

The mound is circular and flat topped, standing close to the beach at the west end of the village. It is immediately surrounded by a very shallow ditch or depression,

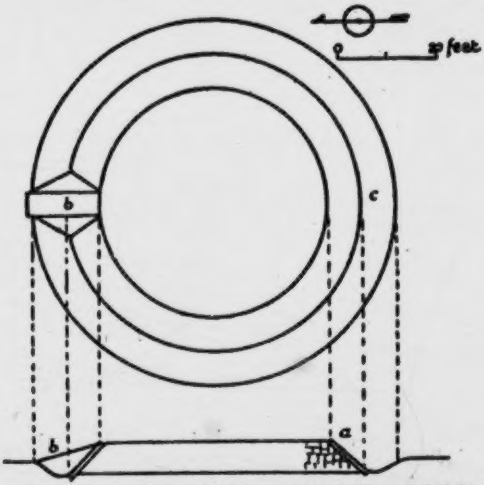

FIGURE 16.—Plan of unnamed mound, Mango Island, Haapai, height 5 feet, diameter at base 90 feet, diameter at top 70 feet: *a*, stone veneering on sides sloping about 25°; *b*, earth ramp ascending mound; *c*, moat 3 to 5 feet wide at base of mound.

crossed from the north by a fill of sand which is projected to constitute an inclined approach to the top of the mound. The sloping sides of the mound are faced with irregular flat slabs of coralline sandstone laid loosely, like tile.

172 34 173 [342] The structure is said to have been built as a house platform by Fijian warriors, brought to Mango by the Tongan king Ulukalala I, who is referred to by Captain Cook as Feenow (Finau). Whatever its original purpose, this structure is now used as a house mound, although entirely out of keeping with other Tongan *paepae*. It has certain strong Fijian features which seem

to confirm the traditional account of its construction. Tongans who have 172
been in Fiji assert that they have seen there house mounds exactly like this. 34
On the other hand, the detail of construction is very much like that of some [173]
of the pigeon mounds on Ualeva (p. 21). Fijian influence may have been
active in both places.

3. Group of mounds in the village of Malapo, Tongatabu, on the Nukualofa-Mua road.

This group includes several peculiar mounds that seem to be subject to much speculation by the inhabitants of the village. Not even their names could be ascertained.

In a row of mounds bordering the north side of the road, the first is a very large structure, the next much smaller and the others progressively smaller; the last being difficult to distinguish from the natural features of the surrounding country. At least four of these mounds are worthy of consideration.

The large mound is conical in shape with a gracefully rounded top. It is 18 feet high, 100 feet in diameter at the base, and the slope of its sides is about 25°. From all surface indications, the mound is composed entirely of earth and has no outstanding features other than its bulk. The remaining three mounds, 4 to 6 feet in height, are
more oval in cross section. They are the present sites of houses. [342]

An old man, not resident in the village, gave to the series of smaller 172
mounds the name Afoteau (*afo*, a length of sennit-cord; *teau*, one hundred). 34
This name is said to have originated from the fact that one hundred lengths 173
of sennit cord were required in erecting on one of the mounds a house built [342]
by the chieftain Fasiapuli, the brother of Tuitatui, who, according to genealogical evidence, was king of Tonga in about the twelfth century. The place where these mounds stand is referred to in a mythological account which
Gifford (11) obtained, as Haangongo (the family of Ngongo). The smaller 172
mounds may be house mounds, but both the size and the shape of the large 34
mound are against such an interpretation. Nor has it the appearance of a [342]
grave mound.

4. Two mounds on either side of the Mua road at Holonga, a village near Malapo.

These very large mounds greatly resemble in size and other characteristics the large
mound at Malapo. They are mythologically accounted for as composed of the earth [173]
which Muni shook from the roots of the kava plant (13, p. 121). The absence of any
historical account of origin may indicate a considerable antiquity.

5. Hauomomo, or Paepaeomomo (*hau*, a king other than the Tui Tonga; *o*, of; Momo, name of the first traditional king of Tonga; *paepae*, house platform), at the village of Haameniuli, Tongatabu.

Hauomomo is said to be the house mound of Momo, descendant of the worm, pre- [173]
ceding the heavenly advent of the first Tui Tonga (13, p. 25). Its interior, exposed
by a road cut, is of the same kind of earth as that of the surrounding surface soil.
Nothing of special importance was found there.

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6. Mound on the island of Euakafa, Vavau.

This structure is a rectangular platform of earth retained by walls of dressed, rectangular slabs of stone which are set up on edge and in contact end to end. It is 32 feet long, 28 feet wide, and about one foot high. Judging from size, proportions, and position, this mound was a house platform. This platform stands less than a quarter of a mile west of Talafaiva's langi (p. 49), on the same high platform which constitutes the entire top of the island, and some informants identified it as the house *paepae* for the residence of the chieftain Talafaiva. This is the only known rectangular platform in Tonga described as a house platform, with the possible exception of Tuavavau (No. 1). These two structures are similar in no other respect.

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7. Mound platform on the island of Namukaeiki, Haapai.

The mound on Namukaeiki is a low, stone walled rectangular platform of earth retained by walls of roughly dressed stone slabs disposed on edge and in contact end to end. It is 30 feet long, 20 feet wide and 1 foot high. It was reported to be a langi, [342] but Gifford (11) describes it as more resembling the so-called house *paepae* on Euakafa. [764] The dimensions are certainly not those of a langi, if comparative data are of any value, but seem to be exactly suited to a house platform. On the other hand, it may be an *esi*.

8. Lefelefevalu (*lefelefe*, sexual organ; *valu*, eight), on the island of Eua, a short distance north of the village of Tufuvai.

Lefelefevalu is a large conical mound made entirely of earth, with a basal diameter of 150 feet. The sides slope upwards, at an angle of about 22°, to a flat top 25 feet in diameter and 22 feet above the base. Scattered about the centrally placed large mound at distances of 100 to 200 feet and with no apparent order, are five small mounds 4 to 5 feet in height and averaging 20 feet in diameter. There are reported to be eight of these smaller mounds but only these five could be located.

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Little is known about Lefelefevalu, but a myth accounts for its supernormal origin in which the goddess Lefelefevalu and her eight lovers are the principal actors. The myth would seem to be a rationalised explanation of the origin of a phenomenon concerning which no true information remains. The story is more than symptomatic of that associated with the mound called Tuavavau (p. 27). It seems probable that the two stories are local renditions of one of those standardized myths, so common in Polynesia, that attach themselves to any favorable site that seems in need of explanation.

GRAVE MOUNDS

CLASSIFICATION

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There is a threefold native classification of primitive burial places in Tonga. The mound marking the burial of an ordinary man is called *tanuanga*, that marking the burial site of a chieftain, his family and his principal retainers is called *faitoka*, and that in which members of the Tui Tonga family are buried is called langi. As is usual with native classifications in Tonga, these terms refer to use rather than to structural form. Thus the grave of a Tui Tonga, regardless of its shape, size, structural detail or other peculiarities, is a langi. As a rule, however, there were normal types of *tanuanga*, *faitoka*, and langis.

172 The mounds vary considerably in size. One called Huluipaongo (*hulu*, 764 dry leaves; *paongo*, a vine producing the *hulu* leaf, now growing plentifully about the mound), is situated near the southwest point of the island of Lifuka, Haapai. It is 15 feet high, with a diameter of 40 feet at the top [175] and 110 feet at the base. This mound contains the tomb of the Matauvave family, and as the first Matauvave was appointed governor of Haapai by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai at a date approximating 1540, was probably built in the sixteenth century.

An ancient *faitoka*, situated at a place called Houmakalae near the town of Otea, Kapa, Vavau, is 16 feet in height and 100 feet in base diameter. It is called Avatongo (*ava*, crevice; *tongo*, mangrove shrub), but no accurate information was found regarding its history.

The average *faitoka*, however, is smaller and is well represented by that called Kelekelemeifisi (*kelekele*, earth; *mei*, from; *fisi*, Fiji), situated on the southern outskirts of the town of Maofanga, Tongatabu. It has a maximum [173] height of 8 feet and a base diameter of 75 feet. It is the burial place of Lavakahaatuukau, an important chieftain who moved to Maofanga from Mua and there built this *faitoka*, according to tradition, exclusively from earth brought from Fiji.

[217] The Tongans maintain an admirable respect for their ancient dead, a respect which is strengthened by well kept genealogical records, by means of which present day inhabitants trace their descent from those buried in many [128] of the ancient tombs. Archaeological excavation of *faitoka* is prohibited and a thorough study of stone vaults (*fonualoto*) is therefore impossible. The one vault available for observation, though not in a *faitoka*, probably closely resembles it in every particular (p. 50).

172 764 127 I am indebted to Mr. Guttenbeil of Niafu, Vavau, for a description, based on first hand observation, of a *faitoka* vault. Mr. Guttenbeil witnessed the burial of a boy related to Maatu in the vault of the ancient Maatu *faitoka* on the island of Niuatoputapu. According to his account, confirmed by Maatu and other qualified informants, the vault had not been used for several generations and its exact whereabouts in the more recent burial ground, which had come to practically cover the *faitoka*, was known only by one old 172 764 woman. She indicated the place to dig. The workmen dug through many more modern graves, placing the exhumed bones carefully to one side. Finally they came to the flat stone lid of the vault, which was 15 feet long and 10 feet wide. It was found to be so heavy that all attempts to remove it failed. Accordingly, one end was cut off to afford an opening. The narrator with others entered the vault. It had four perpendicular slab walls and a horizontally placed slab for floor. The stones were smoothly dressed. A skeleton lay prone, face up, in the center of the vault floor. This they reckoned to be the remains of the Maatu who built the tomb. Around the

172 764 ing a lateral surface of unbroken stone, rather than one marked by vertical walls of stone and horizontal surfaces of earth.

128

DESCRIPTION OF LANGIS

The following list includes the Tongan langis identified by name and four langis (Nos. 42-45) for which informants had no name. The list also includes four names, Koolonamu, Tamatiu, Tongamanatu, and Tauhakeleve, which could not be definitely associated with structures. The coincidence of four unnamed langis and four unclaimed langi names, applying to the specific Lapaha group of Tongatabu, is, to say the least, most agreeably surprising. Numerical discrepancies might be expected especially as some langis seem to have more than one name, and this very fact of multiple nomenclature influences me to accept the coincidence in question as of doubtful implication. Certainly, it does not necessarily follow that the four unattached names apply to the four nameless langis.

172 764 1. Atea, on the south side of the lagoon on the island of Nomuka, Haapai. Type D.

The measurements of Atea were, unfortunately, lost but the following figures are approximately correct: the sides average 50 feet in length; the retaining wall is less than 1 foot in apparent height and about 0.7 foot in thickness; the stones constituting the wall average 3 feet in length. The vault is concealed and no surface indications of burial are apparent.

[173] [644] Atea derives its name from Ate, a wife of one of the Tui Tonga residing on Namuka, for whom the tomb is said to have been built. Tradition, however, says that she is not buried there but in the *faitoka* Takahilipakisi at Maofanga, Tongatabu.

2. Faapite, at Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 18).

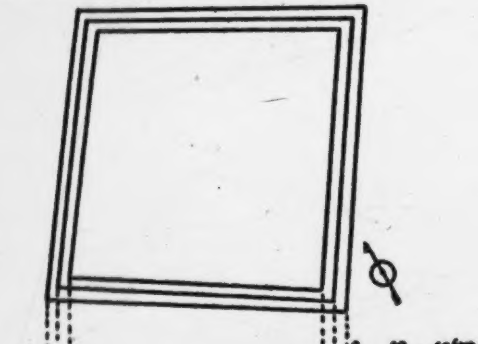

FIGURE 18.—Plan of langi Faapite at Mua, Tongatabu, height 6.5 feet, northeast base 133.5 feet, southeast base 141 feet, height of steps—bottom 3 feet, second 2.5 feet, top 2.7 feet.

In one account this langi is called Foou (New), but according to data in the hands 172
of Prince Tungi, Foou has only two terraces. There may be two langis bearing the 764
name Foou.

Faapite is a three-terraced structure. The stones used in the retaining walls supporting each of the three earth platforms are 6 to 10 feet long and 0.8 foot to 2.5 feet thick. All visible stone parts are either of coral "sandstone" or of reef limestone. The surfaces are comparatively smooth, the squared corners clean-cut. Stones are in contact end to end with a smooth nicety, where they have not been displaced through natural agencies. Terrace wall corners are formed by overlapping without any apparent plan.

Faapite is said to be the burial place of one named Sanualio, but there is no external evidence of vaults. A monumental *makahunu* (volcanic) stone, bearing the name Pau, reported as occurring in the walls, could not be located.

3. Faletoonga (House-of-rites), east of Mua, Tongatabu, to the left of the road from Mua to Hoi, Type A.

Faletoonga, also called Tuitonga, is broadly oval in shape, its longest dimension extending east and west. It is 5 feet high, with a flat top 60 feet long and 45 feet wide. The base stands about 12 feet outward from the margin of the top surface, giving the sides of the mound a slope of about 25°. There is no apparent difference between the earth employed in the mound and that of the surrounding land. No record of burials was found.

4. Fangaloto (Deep-anchorage), at the town of Lufe, near Navai, Tongatabu, Type A.

As the property on which the langi stands bears the name Fangaloto, it seems probable that the mound borrowed this name in comparatively recent times, locally it is called Uhiao. This approximately circular langi is 65 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height.

According to a story told by the inhabitants of Navai, the mutilated body of the 172
murdered Tui Tonga Puipui was washed ashore at Fangaloto. A matapule named 764
Lufe found the headless corpse, and conceiving it below the dignity of the king to be 643
buried without a head, had his own head removed and buried with the torso of the 173
Tui Tonga.

5. Folokamanu at Mataliku, not far from Pea, Tongatabu, Type A. 172

Folokamanu is a roughly circular structure with a comparatively flat top. Its maxi- 764
mum height is 7.5 feet; its top diameter, 30 feet; its bottom diameter, 90 feet. The surface of the mound is formed of earth similar in color and texture to that of the surrounding soil. The mound interior, however, consists of alternating spots of earth and fine white sand impregnated with small shells.

A daughter of some forgotten Tui Tonga is said to have been buried here. Her [644]
name is reported as Fatafehi (*fata*, house loft; *fehi*, hardwood tree, *Afzelia bijuga*), [173]
a favorite name for women in the Tui Tonga family. Excavation discovered the skeletal remains of several individuals (p. 114).

There has been a house on the top of platform *b* which is consistently reported 172
to have been supported originally by four posts of squared stone, connected by stringers 764
which were also of dressed stone. The single sizable element remaining is a piece of coral "sandstone," 4 feet long, 0.8 foot wide and 0.7 foot thick, which appears to have been a stringer or rafter. Its special interest is due to the fact that it retains one unbroken end which is elaborately shaped, apparently for the purpose of being mortised (fig. 20). All surfaces are carefully dressed and all angles sharply defined. This stone-posted and raftered house is said to have been called *falepoumaka* (house-of-stone-posts)—probably a recent descriptive term. The house is said to have faced south and its use is supposed to have corresponded with that of similarly placed houses (p. 31).

Platform *b* is said to be the langi proper, containing the burial vault or vaults. Platform *a* is described as the site for the house of a matapule assigned to act as [644]
guardian and caretaker of the langi. [342]

Fatafehi, the daughter of Tui Tonga Tuitatui, the first female member of the
family to bear that name, is said to be buried in Heketa. According to one report [173]
Tuitatui also is buried here. No surface indications of vaults are visible. [644]

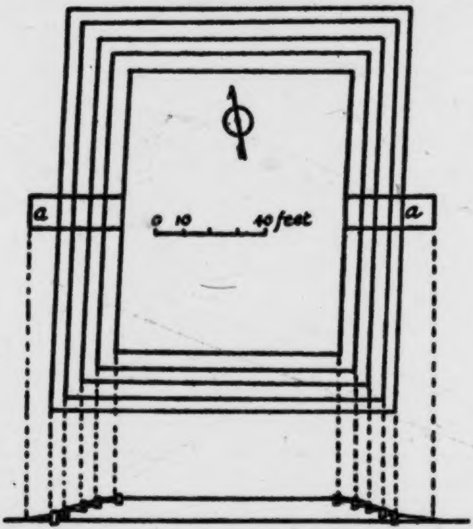

FIGURE 21.—Plan of langi Katoa at Mua, Tongatabu, height 7 feet, length of east base 140.4 feet, length of south base 120 feet, retaining walls—bottom 2.2 feet high; second 2.8 feet high, inset 5 feet; third 0.8 foot high, inset 5.7 feet; fourth 1 foot high, inset 5 feet; fifth 1.9-2 feet high, inset 5.9 feet: *a*, approaches.

7. Katoa (The-whole) in Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 21).

Katoa consists of five tiers, each of which is very low as compared with the other dimensions. The dressed stones of which the vertical sides of the tiers are fashioned are 4 to 14 feet in length and average 1 foot in thickness. The largest of these, situated on the western side is 14 feet long, 2 feet thick, and stands 5.95 feet above ground. Such monumental stones, present in the western walls of many langis, are (fig. 25, *e*). This mound has a fairly level central top, of indefinite area, from which its sides slope gradually to the moat bottom or to the ground level. A bridge way crosses the moat on the southwest side to form a gently sloping ascent to the mound top. Loose fragments of coral "sandstone" are strewn about the edges and the surface of 172 764

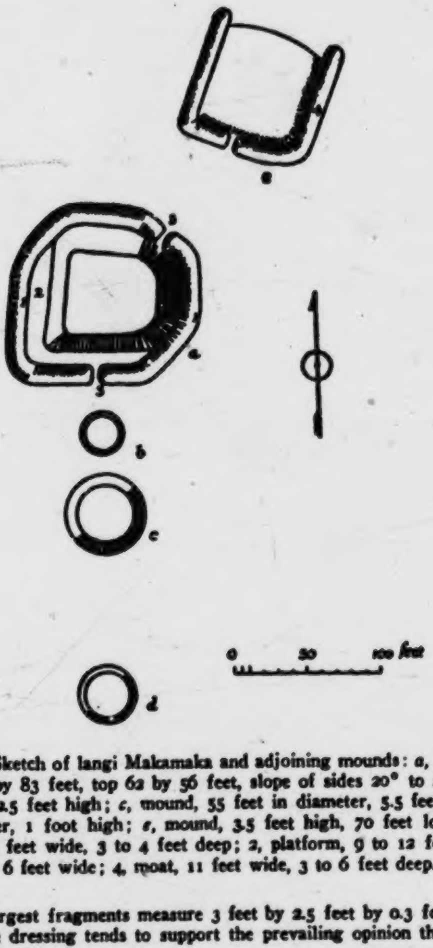

FIGURE 25.—Sketch of langi Makamaka and adjoining mounds: *a*, Makamaka, height 4.5 feet, base 89 by 83 feet, top 62 by 56 feet, slope of sides 20° to 22°; *b*, mound, 41 feet in diameter, 2.5 feet high; *c*, mound, 55 feet in diameter, 5.5 feet high; *d*, mound, 29 feet in diameter, 1 foot high; *e*, mound, 3.5 feet high, 70 feet long, 66 to 68 feet wide—1, moat, 14 feet wide, 3 to 4 feet deep; 2, platform, 9 to 12 feet wide; 3, earth fills, across moats 6 feet wide; 4, moat, 11 feet wide, 3 to 6 feet deep.

mound *b*. The largest fragments measure 3 feet by 2.5 feet by 0.3 foot. This apparent refuse from stone dressing tends to support the prevailing opinion that there are stone vaults in these mounds.

It is said that a pregnant Tui Tonga Fefine, name unknown, is buried here and that because of this woman's pregnancy, a man named Moulamufuaamotu, who was chief of Fuamotu at that time, acquired the new name Tofamealo. 173 644

172

This langi is said to have been built for the son of a Tui Tonga not named, and a woman of Uvea. On account of the Uvean blood in the prince, the langi is regarded as "common," not to be respected. Thus a man of low social standing will say: "When hungry, I eat on Maluatonga." 764 173 565

18. Mounga (Mountain) immediately south of langi Siapua (p. 54), island of Tungua, Haapai, Type D. 172 764

The westernmost retaining wall of Mounga is 60 long; the northernmost, 55 feet. The wall stones average 2 feet in apparent height, 3 feet in length and 0.7 foot in thickness. The middle section of the southernmost wall is marked by two monumental stones, each 2 feet wide, 0.7 foot thick, and 4.5 feet high. They are separated by a stone of average height and length.

An interesting feature of Mounga is a platform approach, centrally placed, adjoining the westernmost wall. It consists of low retaining walls of stone enclosing a gravel platform 10 feet in length, at right angles to the adjoining wall, 8 feet in width, and raised 0.5 foot above the surrounding level.

The stone dressing throughout the structure is good, excellent in places. Stones in the wall are joined end to end with exact nirety and the corner stones are lapped one across the end of the other. At the northwest corner, stones are mortised into each other to a depth of 0.2 foot. A Tamaha named Mounga is said to be buried here.

19. Moungalafa (Flat-mountain) or Moungalofa (Love-mountain), north of Mua near Afa, Tongatabu, Type D (fig. 27, *a*).

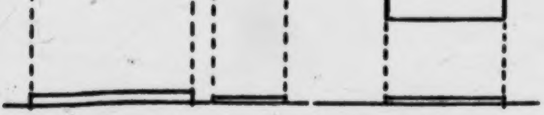

FIGURE 27.—Plan of langi Moungalafa and adjoining platforms near Mua, Tongatabu: *a*, Moungalafa, 90 feet long, 79.5 feet wide, 3.5 to 5.5 feet high; *b*, 48 feet long, 39 feet wide, 1 to 1.5 feet high; *c*, 69 feet long, 1 to 1.5 feet high.

Moungalafa is the largest of a group of three platforms. For the remaining two (fig. 27, *b*, *c*,), which are said to "belong" to Moungalafa, no names were obtained.

The retaining walls vary in apparent height according to the configuration of the surrounding land, but the top of the wall is level and slightly higher than the enclosed platform. All the stones comprising the walls are of unusually large size, averaging more than 6 feet in length and 1 foot to 1.8 feet in thickness, a large stone at the southeast corner is 4.4 feet in apparent height, 1.8 feet thick, and 17.5 feet long. Another at the southwest corner has an apparent height of 5.1 feet, a thickness of 1 foot, and a length of 16.5 feet. Many other stones are nearly as large. The surfaces of these

172 764 The bottom tier, so entirely dominated by the limestone retaining wall that only an interval of 0.7 foot separates the inner edge of the wall from the outer foot of the retaining wall of the second tier, has an apparent outside height of 3.1 feet and an inside height of 3.4 feet. The outer side of the wall is practically perpendicular; the top, 4 feet wide, slopes gently upward toward the foot of the second tier. The individual stones of the lower tier are 8 to 18 feet in length, excepting the L-shaped cornerstone on the southeast corner, which measures 21.3 feet along the eastern side and 6.1 feet along the southern. The northeast cornerstone, also L-shaped, measures 14 feet along the northernmost side and 6 feet along the easternmost. There is a scarf projecting outward from the bottom of the wall, at a level with the adjacent surface of the land, which is 0.3 foot in width at places. This clearly indicates that the stones were finally dressed after having been set in position in the wall. Where the upward sloping top surface of the tier turns the northeast and southeast corners, a sharp though gentle angle is formed by the meeting of the beveled surfaces.

The second tier is 2.3 feet to 4 feet thick and 4.5 feet high. The top surface is horizontal but the outer surface slants from the base toward the mound to such an extent that the outer top edge of the wall is inset 1 foot from the outer base edge. The interval between the inner top edge of this wall and the outer surface of the top tier varies from 0.7 foot to 1 foot. The southeast and northeast corners are marked by large stones cut in an L-shape to turn the corners. The northeast cornerstones measures 4 feet along the northernmost side and 9.5 feet along the easternmost. Stones in this tier are 5 to 10 feet long.

The top tier, ridiculously small in comparison with the two lower, is 1 foot in height and averages 0.6 foot in thickness. It is perpendicularly placed and flat topped. Individual stones entering into its construction average 3 feet in length.

All the large stones in this langi are fashioned from the coral reef limestone, which made it possible to hew out the truly gigantic L-shaped cornerstones. The surfacing is extraordinarily smooth when the porosity of the material used is taken into consideration. All corners except those described are formed by overlapping stones in the usual Tongan manner.

172 764 173 [643] There is no surface evidence of vaults in the langi. Tradition states that it was built by the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, otherwise known as Telea. According to one story, Telea was drowned and his body never recovered; according to another, he is buried in this langi. The great stones are said to have been carried to Tonga from Uvea on an immense sailing boat called *Lomipeau* (13, p. 67). Uvea is a volcanic island while the stone used in the langi is coral, identical in every way to that of the reef exposures along the nearby coast.

172 764 27. Pangai (A-meeting-place) on the outskirts of the town of Feletoa, Vavau, between the two moats protecting the eastern outer wall of the old fortress (p. 82).

[712]

[177] At first sight this langi appeared to be a Type A structure. However, closer examination disclosed fragmentary portions of three tier walls. The unusual state of ruin characterizing this structure is due to the fact that many stones have recently been removed for building purposes by natives under European influence. This is the only known example of such vandalism in Tonga, and is in no way compatible with the known native attitude toward these monuments.

The dilapidated condition of the langi made it impossible to obtain a complete series of accurate measurements. The mound is now 10 feet high and the bottom platform was originally about 100 feet square. The stones in the retaining wall of the bottom tier are about 2 feet high, those in the top tier about 1.7 feet. The largest stone seen, in the bottom tier, measured 2 feet (apparent height) by 5 feet by 0.8 foot. As a stone adjoining this one had been quite recently removed, the depth to which it had been buried in the earth to give it foundation was easily determined as 2.5 feet, giving the stone a true height of 4.5 feet. A large dressed stone found lying in the bottom of the innermost moat of the fortification, 20 yards from the langi, measured 6 feet in length, 4 feet in width, and 1.1 feet in thickness. 172 764

No surface evidence of a vault was apparent. Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here. One account has it that the Tui Tonga Ulukalala II also rests in this langi, but this contention is stoutly denied by others. According to Kalaota, the last burial in Pangai was that of Foanuinuiava, the father of the last Tui Tonga, Laufilitonga. 172 173 764 643

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764

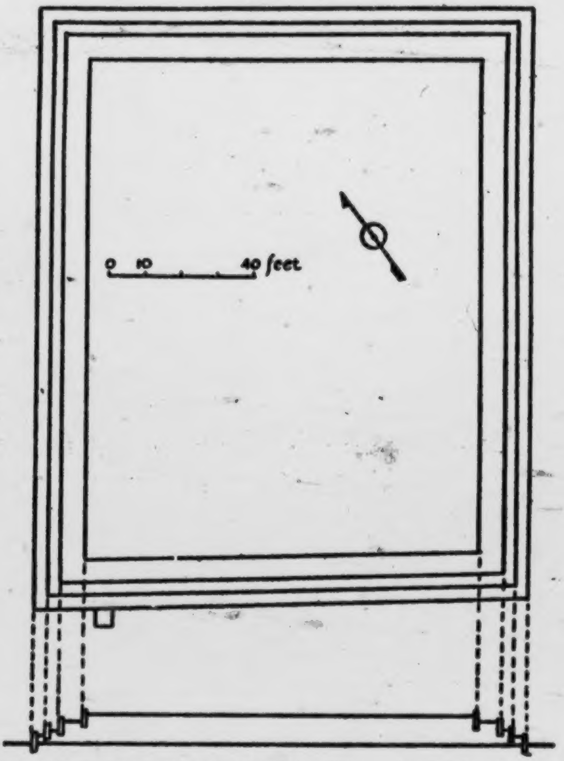

FIGURE 33.—Plan of langi Puipui at Mua, Tongatabu, height 8 feet, length of southern base wall 134 feet, length of eastern wall 159 feet.

28. Puipui, also known as Mau (To-receive), at Mua, Tongatabu, Type E (fig. 33; Pl. IV, B).

Puipui is a four-tiered structure. The retaining wall of the bottom tier is 2.8 feet in apparent height, and that of the second tier, inset 3.5 feet from the outer surface

hazard overlapping of cornerstones. However, 1 stone at the northeast corner is mortised 172
into the side of the opposing overlapping cornerstone to a depth of 0.2 foot.

Taetaea is said to be the burial place of the Tuihaapula family and to have been 764
used as such quite recently. No external evidence of vaults was apparent.

32. Tamatiu is reported to be a langi situated somewhere in Mua, Tongatabu, but its exact location could not be determined. It is probably one of the unidentified structures described on page 60.

33. Tamatou (Child-of-tou-wood), near Mahaunga, Tongatabu, Type E.

Tamatou consists of two tiers. The base of the southeast side measures 88 feet; its southwest side, 75 feet. Its top platform is 3.2 feet above the level of the surrounding land. The retaining wall of the bottom tier has an apparent height of 2.5 feet and is 0.8 foot thick; that of the top tier, inset 4.6 feet from the outer surface of the bottom tier, has an apparent height of 1.7 feet and is 0.7 foot thick. The stones in the retaining walls average 6 feet in length. They are dressed with unusual care and matched with exactitude. The corners are formed in the usual manner.

Excavation in the langi failed to disclose a stone vault (p. 113), and tradition has
it that no human remains are buried here (13, p. 55). The Tui Tonga Tamatou was 173
a block of toa wood (*Casuarina*), or perhaps a wooden doll, the toy of the child prince
who was to succeed to the title. The child, when told that he was to become the Tui 643
Tonga, displayed characteristic princely perversity and insisted that his toy, the piece
of wood, was the new Tui Tonga. The will of so great a chieftain, it would seem,
was not to be contested, so the piece of wood was recognized as the king. Later, when 172
the child assumed a more reasonable attitude, perhaps grown sufficiently old to see the
folly of his action, the wooden Tui Tonga was declared dead and buried in the langi 764
which bears its name.

34. Tauhakeleve (Get-ashore-at-once) is a langi name recorded in some 172
traditional accounts in possession of Prince Tungi. It is described as a one- 764
tiered structure and is probably one of the Lapaha group on Tongatabu.

35. Tauhala, in Mua, Tongatabu, Type D (fig. 34).

The retaining walls of Tauhala, built entirely of unusually large stones, are 0.7 foot to 1.3 feet in thickness. The stones average 10 feet in length. A stone on the east side of the southeast corner has an apparent height of 4.8 feet, and is 1.3 feet thick and 18.8 feet long. Another, near the center of the easternmost side, of average height and thickness, is 16.7 feet long. The largest stone in the structure, placed near the center of the westernmost wall, is 7.6 feet in apparent height, and 24.6 feet long (Pl. III, *B*). It stands with monumental superiority 3 feet above the adjoining stones and above the top of the great platform. At its top edge the stone is only 1 foot thick, but at the point of contact between the inner surface of the stone and the top of the platform it is 2 feet thick. Thus the stone seems first to have been placed in position in the wall and later to have been dressed down to make its upper portion conform in width with adjoining stones in the wall.

The surfacing of the stones is not uniformly smooth. Some are carefully dressed, others roughly, but all the stones are carefully and neatly matched throughout, and the cornerstones overlap in the usual haphazard manner. There are incised figures on the westernmost side of the retaining wall (p. 79). There is no surface evidence of vaults. No tradition concerning burials was heard.

172 349 A cross section of each of the two shafts and of the lintel approaches a rectangular parallelogram. The upright pieces are placed with their long lateral faces roughly parallel to each other and approximately extending north-south. They rise from their foundations gradually tapering inward toward the top, a feature more accentuated in the western column.

At the approximate center of each upright piece is a vertical square-cut mortise of sufficient width to allow the lintel to slip into it edgewise with several inches of play on either side, and of sufficient depth to bring the top edge of the lintel to a common plane with the tops of the columns. This common plane is not level, as the western column is 1.5 feet higher than the eastern. The ends of the lintel are practically even with the outer sides of the uprights.

The central upper surface of the lintel is marked by a shallow circular depression of small diameter, smoothly regular in outline and obviously artificial.

It was determined by excavations at selected places that the bases of the upright pieces extend at least two feet into the ground. Fear that the structure would fall prevented further exposure of the foundations.

[127] There is an unpublished account of excavations made by Mr. Ames, the first Wesleyan teacher in this district, to determine the depth of the foundations. According to his testimony, as supported by eye witnesses, the base of each upright is mortised into limestone bedrock and the space left between mortise and tenon packed with small limestone chips. A fear that the removal of these chips would weaken the stability of the structure prevented his determining the true depth to which the great shafts of stone penetrate.

That the uprights are well anchored is shown by the fact that the massive roots of a large *ovava* tree shaped themselves about the base of the western stone shaft, without budging its position. King George I Tupou had the tree removed in order to preserve the monument. It has been estimated that the visible portions of the two uprights weigh each between 30 and 40 tons.

172 349 173 644 [115] The following account of the origin and construction of the Haamonga was obtained from an old chieftain, Tamale of Haameniuli, Tongatabu, who is the direct descendant in a long line of chieftains closely associated with the Tui Tonga and is fulfilling the duty of keeping in memory the great deeds of the kings. The peculiar official duties of this family are said to have been inaugurated at a time preceding the reign of Tuitatui.

172 349 173 643 Tuitatui was the Tui Tonga who built the trilithon. That was at a time preceding the removal of the king's house to Lapaha (now Mua). Tuitatui had established himself at Heketa near the site of the Haamonga. The trilithon was erected as a monument to his two sons; Lafa was the elder and Talaihaapepe the younger. The structure had the symbolical significance of representing the two sons in the upright shafts, the eastern and western columns respectively symbolizing the elder and younger son. The lintel uniting the columns represented the inseparable bond of brotherhood uniting these two great men. It seems that the Tui Tonga was afraid that there would be a rupture between his sons after he was gone and erected the monument as a lasting protest against such a possibility.

> In this manner was the Haamonga built. All the common men of Heketa and many 172
> men from the outlying districts of Tongatabu were assembled. The stones, of a variety
> called *okeho* (coral limestone), were cut out from the cliff face on the shoreline just 173
> north of the site selected for the structure. This is the kind of stone that forms the 349
> bedrock for all this part of the island. When the three great stones had been shaped,
> they were dragged over wooden skids, by means of heavy ropes and the combined 333
> muscular power of many men, to the construction site. The two pits where the columns [483]
> were to stand were then dug. There followed the erecting of a perpendicular retaining
> wall of trees and brush, situated closely parallel to the line of the two excavations.
> This wall constituted the vertical front of an earthen mound or inclined plane of a height
> sufficient to serve in the following manner. The two uprights were dragged over skids, 172
> endwise and prone on edge, up the slope of the artificial incline. Besides the wooden
> skids and ropes, the implements employed included blocking wedges and levers, to be used 173
> in emergencies. At the top of the incline the stones were projected over the edge of 349
> the vertical retaining wall until nicely balanced, and then carefully directed to fall
> endwise, while guided by ropes, into the pits prepared for them. This done, the lintel 333
> was transported up the incline in the same manner, but with the lateral edge foremost, 483
> and directed to drop into the mortises in the tops of the upright pieces. Then the earthen
> incline was removed, leaving the trilithon in position. A large irregular pile of earth
> in the near neighborhood of the monument is said to be the material removed in leveling 172
> the construction mound.

173

Tamale's account of origin and construction is so detailed and logical, 349
coming as it does from a very old man who neither speaks nor reads any [115]
language other than his own and who is highly respected by natives and Europeans alike as an authority on the traditional history of his district, that it must be accepted as a weighty part of the available evidence.

The name Haamongaamaui (*haamonga*, the burden carried on a carrying-stick called *haamo; a*, of; Maui, a god and culture hero) is probably derived from the myth according to which Maui Kisikisi brought the trilithon from Uvea to Tonga, carrying it on his shoulders. It has been argued that this myth indicates that the stones constituting the structure were brought from Uvea. While such a feat may have been possible, a preponderance of the available evidence stands against it. It is a common thing in Tonga to find mythological origins ascribed to things of known historical origin. Furthermore, limestone employed in the structure is identical with the country rock immediately surrounding the monument, while Uvea is basicly volcanic in formation.

It is hard to see just how the trilithon would tend to decrease the possibility of dissension between the two sons of Tuitatui without including a belief in sympathetic magic. The two columns were named after the two sons and it is possible that the belief existed that as long as the two representations of the brothers were united by the lintel-piece, there could be no breaking of brotherly relations. According to Gifford (11) Tuitatui reigned in the early part of the eleventh century.

Prince Tungi believes that the Haamonga was erected for playing a game [345]
called *kopai kolo*. The existing structure may have been used in playing

172 this game, but it is unlikely that it was built for such a purpose. The game
349 was played by children and it is hard to conceive of the laborious construction
173 of such an imposing piece of work to accommodate the playtime fancy of
[345] children.

The small basin cut into the top of the lintel is not explained. Tamale was positive that it was cut out long after the building of the monument, but he could not suggest its intended purpose.

OTHER MONUMENTS

There are said to be two stone monoliths on the island of Niuatoputapu which, according to tradition, were erected by the culture hero Maui. They
172 are named Fakafafa and Tauloto. Nothing of their origin or purpose could be ascertained.

349 Monumental stones in the retaining walls of many langis are described on pp. 36-62.

DISCUSSION OF STONE STRUCTURES

ORIGIN OF STRUCTURES

There is no reasonable doubt that the dressed stone structures of Tonga, 172
the stone-walled *esi* and langis and the trilithon, are the products of the
present inhabiting race. There is not the slightest evidence warranting the
assignment of an age to any of these structures which would be incompatable
with such a conclusion. The technique of stone dressing is quite within the
limits of Tongan talent and equipment. The necessary methods of quarrying,
transportation and erection harmonize perfectly with the state of primitive
Tongan culture. The necessary organization of man-power required in the
undertaking of such huge constructive projects was the logical result of
centralized power vested in the single head of political and social Tonga, the
Tui Tonga. Local tradition reflects not the slightest doubt as to Tongan 172
origin. Native accounts of the building and use of these structures have the
practical and accurate sound of historical records; most of them are sur- 173
prisingly free from even the most obscure mythological associations. The
mythical accounts are easily separated from historical accounts and are
patently free from historical purpose. Some of these structures were actually 172
built in historic times under the observation of reliable European witnesses. 175
Many of them are still used from time to time in their traditional capacity.

This impressive ethnological evidence justifies the treatment of these inter- 172
esting monuments as the work of the immediate ancestors of the present
population of the archipelago.

RELATIVE AGE OF LANGIS 127

During the search for information regarding specific langis, a list of named
langis on Tongatabu, written in Tongan, was placed at my disposal. In it are
a few historical notes. The true source of this material is rather doubtful.
It was first seen in a notebook in the possession of Uhatafe, an old man of 127
Mua, Tongatabu, who is directly descended from a line of high matapules 217
formerly in the service of the Tui Tonga. Uhatafe stated that he had
written the notes when young, having gotten the information from his father,
who had in turn received it from his father, and so on. Identically the same 127
list was later found in a magazine printed in Tongan by the Catholic mission
at Mua. Whether or not this printed version had been copied from Uhatafe's
book could not be determined. The following is a translation of the manu- 764
script:

173

> The book of succession of the different langis, and information concerning those 172
> who made them; their names are also given.
>
> The different langis are known, but as to who made each and who is buried there, some are [known] and others not.

764 1. The first langi, Fangaloso, situated at Navai, town of Lufe.

2. And the langi Folokamanu which stands at Mataliku on the outskirts of the town
173 of Pea.

3. And the langi Matamoana which stands between Tufamahina and Talangaholova.

172 4. And the langi Makamaka which stands between Fuamotu and the *opi* Haavaka. This langi is where a pregnant Tui Tonga Fefine, she who was nicknamed Fuamotu Tofamoealo by Mohulamu.

[643] 5 and 6. Then he [the Tui Tonga] transferred to Hahake and two langis were built, that of Heketa and the langi Moungalafa, and that was the work of Tui Tonga Tuitatui.

[643] And when the king Tukuaho was murdered, the grandfather of Tungi, who was named Mulikihaamea, became the Tui Tonga. He was the Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa, and the Tui Tonga Pau his brother. Their father was Tuipulotu II. They had different mothers.

Names of the langis of Mua:

1. Langi Tuoteau.
2. Langi Tauatonga.
3. Langi Matuatonga (or Katoa).
4. Langi Tofaua, the stone Kopau (or Luani).
5. Langi Tauhala.
6. Langi Leka, the stone Tuituiohu.
8. Langi Taetaea.
9. Langi Tuofefafa. (Here are buried Tuipulotu and Tokemoana.)
10. Langi Paepaeotelea.
12. Langi Namoala.
13. Nakulukilangi.
14. Langi Tongamanatu.
15. Langalangafehi.
16. Langi Koolonamu.
17. Langi Lili.
18. Langi Olomaloa.
19. Langi Faletoonga.
20. Langi Tamatiu.

[127] The following additions to this data were gleaned from material furnished by Prince Tungi, translated by Rev. E. E. V. Collocott.

Langi Leka. Four terraces. Work of Tulunga.

Langi Tafaua. One terrace. Two buried there, Tokemoana and Tafolo. There stand the stones Vuna and Mataele.

Langi Tauatonga. Three terraces.

Langi Taetaea. There stands the stone Hakalukuanganava of Tuihaapula. One terrace.

Langi Tauhakelevu. One terrace.

Langi Mau. Four terraces. There stands the named stone Tuituiohu.

Langi Katoa. Five terraces. One named stone there.

Langi Tuoteau. One terrace. Tuipulotu there.

Langi Foou. Two terraces. The stone Pau, a volcanic stone.

Langi Paepaeotelea. Three terraces.

Langi Namoala. Three terraces. This is the langi of the woman Finau. Her mother, Latutama, lamented—and this is her lament: Come ye and carry out the burial.

Uhatafe's list of langis certainly pretends to be chronologically arranged
172 in order of building. Upon examination, it was found that the first on the
764

172 at the corners in beautifully exact lines of contact. These characteristics are unique features of this one langi.

764 Namoala, next on the list, lies just beside and in line with Paepaeotelea. It is a three-terraced stone structure representing a class of workmanship greatly inferior to that of its neighbor, but comparing favorably with the other langis of Mua.

Tongamanatu and Koolonamu could not be found. If they exist in Mua, they are not now known by these names.

Lili, following on the list, is a square, truncated earthen pyramid. There is no sign of stone work.

Olomaloa is a comparatively small stone-walled platform consisting of but a single tier. It is representative of the most simple type of stone-walled langi.

Faletoonga is an oval-shaped mound of earth, flat-topped, showing no trace of stone work.

Tamatiu could not be located in Mua. As many of the langis have more than one name and as the Mua list fails to mention a large number of the Mua langis, some of the unidentified names may belong to structures described under other names.

A survey of the listed facts disclosed the following interesting situation: The first four langis mentioned are mounds of earth, simply shaped save for the last one, which approaches a rectangle in lateral cross section. There follows a series of rectangular platform types with stone retaining walls, many of them pyramidal in shape with two to five terraces. The maximum in size is Tauhala, followed in turn by Telea's langi, the masterpiece of Tongan stone masonry. The remainder of the series shows a rapid deterioration which culminates in the earthen mound type exemplified in the first langi of the series.

As the list pretends to be arranged in chronological order, the facts seem to indicate a local development of the langi from a simple earthen burial mound, like the *faitoka,* to a massive, skillfully constructed, stone-walled platform, or pyramidal series of platforms. This development reaches a climax with Telea's langi and then suffers an extraordinary decline until the original earthen mound type is again in use.

172 To a certain extent this account is supported by Tongan tradition. There
are many accounts of Tui Tonga Tuitatui, including those of his removal to
173 Hahake from somewhere in western Tongatabu to establish a new capital for
764 the royal family. He is said to have built the Haamonga and the two langis
nearby, the first stone-walled langi on the list under discussion. If indeed
643 he was the first Tongan to experiment in stone structural work, he made
rapid progress, for his langis are large, complicated, and well built and the
Haamonga stands as a remarkable monument to the skill of its builders and

the imagination of its perpetrators, a work never again attempted by Tongan stone masons. 172 173

Tradition then gives a detailed account of the transfer of royal headquarters from Hahake to Lapaha, the site of the present town of Mua. This remained the home of the Tongan kings until the middle of the nineteenth century. The fortifications surrounding Lapaha, the oldest part of Mua, are reported to have been built by one of the earliest of the Mua-dwelling kings. This statement coincides with the small number of langis to be found inside the fortification. Of the four langis in Lapaha, three are named in the list where they immediately follow the Hahake langi. 643 [764] [712] 172 764

Again, the period intervening between Tuitatui and Telea, as represented by number of langis built, closely coincides with the same period as represented in genealogies. Thus, there are 10 langis listed between those said to have been built by Tuitatui and that built by Telea. There were 17 Tui Tonga between these two monarchs, but it is definitely known that more than one king were sometimes buried in a langi. 173 [643]

There is then a certain amount of evidence to support the acceptance of the traditional list of langis at its face value as a chronological record. The decadency of type in the later structures might be explained by the parallel decandency of the power of the Tui Tonga, a traditional and to some extent historical fact. This weakening of the old dynasty of kings was well under way when Cook first visited the group. Great power vested in the king, or in some other leader, was an essential factor in the building of any structure requiring the highly organized labor necessary to the successful building of the largest and finest of the Tongan langis. 172 173 764 643 [127]

There are, however, portions of this supposed chronology which cast doubtful shadows over its chronological value. 172 173

In Uhatafe's list the paragraph immediately following the account of the work of Tuitatui refers to the kings Tukuaho, Tuipulotu II, Maulupekotofa, and Pau. These rulers lived about twenty-four generations after Tuitatui, according to Tongan genealogies. This paragraph is therefore certainly out of place in any chronological sequence of events. These same genealogies name fifteen rulers intervening between Nuitamatou, probably the last Tui Tonga to reign before the capitol was moved to Lapaha, and Telea, whereas there are only nine langis in the list assigned to this period. As explained before, there is no necessary discrepancy here. The larger of the langis are said to contain several vaults each. Some kings were also buried abroad, as stated by tradition and as supported by the presence of langis on other islands of the Tongan group. This list, however, places Tuipulotu I in the ninth Mua langi, whereas Telea's langi is number ten. Genealogical data disputes this order in naming Tuipulotu the fourth king following Telea. Of course there is the possibility that Tuipulotu was buried in a tomb belonging to one 764 127 643

172 of his ancestors, and that the langi might have been built before Telea's time.
173 This, however, seems improbable. Ten langis occur in the list following that
127 of Telea. There are exactly ten Tui Tonga named in genealogies following
764 Telea, but at least one of these is buried, according to tradition, on another island and the last, Laufilitonga, was buried in historic times in one of the
643 other langi. Here again the discrepancy is not fatal to the accuracy of the list. One positive and one probable mistake in the list, however, with other detail that does not check up too well, serve to a certain extent to discredit the entire list as an accurate chronological account.

There is an apparent conflict between the Uhatafi and the Tungi records. According to Uhatafi, Tokemoana and Tuipulotu were buried in the langi Tuofefafa. According to Tungi, Tokemoana was buried in the langi Tafaua and Tuipulotu in Tuoteau. However, inasmuch as there were two kings sharing the name Tuipulotu and as it is Tuipulotu II, according to several records, who is buried in Tuoteau, and as Tokemoana may have been a family name shared alike by many succeeding family heads, the contradiction can not be positively accepted as discrediting either of the records.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANGI

172 There are many reasons for doubting the independent development of
333 the langi type of structure in Tonga. The abrupt appearance of highly
[764] developed stone masonry during the reign of Tuitatui may indicate an introduction of the art into Tonga at that particular time. So highly developed an art is not likely to be born within a primitive society in one generation. It requires time and experimentation to develop skilled craftsmen who could construct a Haamonga or a Heketa.

172 There is a native story which recounts the arrival in Tonga, during the
173 reign of Tuitatui, of a great foreign chieftain, presumably from Fiji. His boat was the largest and finest which the Tongans had ever seen, and built of *fehi* (*Afzelia bijuga*) wood, previously unknown to them. From the wood of this vessel was built a *fata* (a sun shelter in the form of a wall-less house with a loft open at either end). The name Fatafehi has been in common use in the Tui Tonga family ever since. This foreign chieftain seems to have made a great impression upon the Tongans and to have introduced several new customs and culture elements, but no mention is made
172 of his introducing the art of stone masonry. While considering the possibility of foreign influences, it may be well to note that, according to all available evidence, the best of Samoan stone structures seem to have been built by the Tongans rather than by the Samoans—a conclusion supported by both Tongan and Samoan traditions.

172 Skill in stone dressing could have been acquired gradually through a long
333 period of vault construction, thus leaving no surface evidence of a period of

172 where in the Pacific. It would be remarkable if Tonga and some distant
764 Oceanic group should have independently developed the same type of vault.
171 The presence of vaults in Fiji similar to those in Tonga is undoubtedly due
to diffusion, but the direction of this diffusion is not too certainly known.

A platform or terraced type of stone structure, used for various purposes
172 and designated by various names, has been reported from many parts of
171 Polynesia. Its widespread occurrence argues against an independent develop-
34 ment in Tonga. Nowhere outside Tonga, however, has such a structure been associated with the name "langi." The local peculiarities of the stonework and structural shape show sufficient independence from other Pacific types to deserve careful consideration in this connection. After all, stone platforms and pyramids are not peculiar to the Pacific but are found on all the northern continents, and it does not necessarily follow that all stone pyramids are culturally connected. Stonework associated with a pyramidal shape does not offer so extraordinary a combination as to warrant diagnostic conclusions.

A strictly structural survey of the langis themselves, disregarding all
172 native traditional accounts, might lead to the temptation to arrange langis in
764 time sequence according to the degree of development in structural features exhibited. By such a scheme the Type A langi would be rated the oldest, Types B, C, and D logically following in the order named. The pyramidal Type E structures would end the development and so appear last upon the scene, culminating in Telea's exceptionally splendid tomb.

However, incomplete and doubtful as the traditional and historical records
172 may be, there are sufficient facts to absolutely refute a theory of time
173 sequence. The genealogies, jealously kept and protected by the pride of blood
764 which must always be associated with high social or political rank, are probably fairly accurate as far back as Telea, otherwise known as Uluakimata I. A time sequence based upon structural development is basicly wrong in that it fails to take into consideration the undulation of cultural progress, the ebb tides as well as the flood tides, the alternating of periods of retrogression with periods of climbing achievement that has marked the history of all culture.

It seems reasonably sure that native tradition has fairly accurately placed two of the langis in relative time relation to each other. These are Heketa, built by Tuitatui, and Paepaeotelea, Uluakimata's great masterpiece. There seems no logical reason to doubt the origin of these structures. According to genealogical data, Heketa was built in the early eleventh century, Paepaeotelea in the middle of the sixteenth century. This gives a certain time check with which to guide conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS

172 The great stone monuments of Tonga, of which some of the langis and the trilithon at Hahake are the best examples, are works of the present race

of inhabitants and probably do not antedate the reign of Tuitatui, who ruled, 172
according to genealogical data, in about the eleventh century. The art of stone construction reached its maximum development in about the sixteenth century during the reign of Uluakimata I. From that time on there was a period of decadency, as far as stone construction work is concerned, paralleling and probably largely due to the weakening of the Tui Tonga dynasty, which suffered serious defeats in the civil wars of the eighteenth century and lost the throne in the early nineteenth century.

This in part coincides with a written Tongan statement, purporting to be 172
based on old native traditions, to the effect that the earliest langis were Type 173
A structures, innocent of dressed stone elements; that stone came into use later; that this stone craft reached its height of development during the reign of Uluakimata I and from that time on passed through a period of degeneracy until the last langis built were externally reduced to the original type, earthen mounds. The exact time sequence of langis which the statement would seem to pretend to give is, however, of doubtful accuracy.

The origin of stonework in Tonga, whether an invention and development 172
inclusive within the native culture or intrustive from some unknown outside source, must remain in doubt because of the incomplete data available. It is highly probable that the early Tongan colonists brought with them some memory of stonework known to their culture ancestors or ancestral neighbors, as a knowledge of similar masonry was so widespread in Polynesia. This in no way weakens the possibility that there was a peculiar local development of the art of stone craft in Tonga which was largely independent of foreign influences. If the traditional statement be accepted that Tuitatui built the first stone terraced langi, the abrupt impetus which the art received during his reign must be accounted for. Outside influence due to the arrival of a new culture element, as traditionally indicated, could account for this, but the individual genius and will to achieve of such a dominating character as Tuitatui seems to have been motivated by the desire to perpetuate his name and fame in everlasting monuments, might also explain such an enigma.

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURAL WORKS

THE MAKAVE FILL

173 The use in construction work of rough or dressed stones did not exhaust the native capacity for large undertakings. There are many traditions of large projects, some of them patently impossible, some improbable, others with supporting evidence which cannot be gainsaid.

133 The land just south of Makave, about 3 miles southwest of Neiafu, Vavau, is a long narrow peninsula extending south from the main body of the island. The landward end of the neck of this peninsula is about 100 yards in width. To the seaward side this width increases but is decidedly lower in elevation.

173 349 Tradition says that this low portion of the isthmus was at one time missing; what is now a peninsula, then existing as an island, called Utuatea, a name now applied to the peninsula. Whenever the district chieftain, Tuihafitu, held a big celebration of any kind, both Makave and Utuatea were constrained to supply large quantities of food. The inhabitants thought this to be too great a drain upon their resources. Accordingly they decided to make one place of Makave and Utuatea in order that but a single quota might be levied against them. This they are said to have accomplished by filling in the channel between the smaller and larger islands. They finished this task in a single night and planted trees over the filled-in area on the following morning.

Kalaota gives a quite different version of this story. According to his account, the island of Utuatea was owned by a man of common birth who held the title of Toutai, a commander of a sailing vessel for the king. The land had been given to him as a reward for services. This man's name was Fea. Tuihafitu, chieftain of Makave, wished to possess this island. Accordingly he assembled his people and set them the task of filling in the separating channel. They completed the task in a single night and planted trees over the new land on the following morning. Fea, since he was only a commoner, was afraid to complain of this treatment; so he left the one-time island in the hands of Tuihafitu and returned to Tongatabu.

173 172 The area said to be artificially made is nearly 200 yards in width and 6 feet in average height above the shoreline. It was impossible to determine whether it was natural or filled-in land.

KILIKILITEFUA WALL

349 172 Just south of Makave, at the narrowest part of the isthmus, is a large remnant of what seems to have been a straight stone wall crossing the isthmus from east to west and cutting off the peninsula from the mainland at a point where it is necessary in approaching from the mainland to ascend a marked

grade. The wall is 250 feet long, the existing base about 6 feet wide, and 349
the maximum height 5 feet. It extends only across the flat top land, stopping 172
at the top of the two steep banks that descend at either end to the sea. It is composed of rough, undressed pieces of coral stone piled together rather carefully and varying in size from small pieces weighing 4 or 5 pounds to pieces weighing several hundred pounds.

All informants agree that only a few years have elapsed since the wall
was nearly complete. It was partly destroyed, beginning in 1910, by the [312]
present government to furnish stones for the concrete water reservoirs that were being so extensively installed in Tonga at that time. The original height of the wall is said to have been "1 fathom," which was defined as a sufficient height to prevent a tall man from seeing over. The highest portion of the wall remaining has one vertical surface which does not appear to have been disturbed. It stands at an angle of about 10° from the perpendicular. The stonework is neatly and compactly finished.

The origin of this wall is generally ascribed to a custom whereby the 349
parents of every first-born son in the Makave district carried one stone and 172
added it to the existing pile. No clear purpose for such a practice could be 173
found. It was simply in accordance with an order issued by one of the Tuihafitu chieftains of Makave. One old man discredited this explanation and said that the wall was built by a chieftain named Lolomanaia. He could supply no purpose for such a structure.

FELETOA DEPRESSION

172

At Feletoa, Vavau, there is a peculiar symmetrical depression in the earth's surface more than 200 feet in diameter and from 6 to 7 feet in depth at center. Although circular and bowl-like in shape, this depression has the appearance of a natural surface feature, although any natural cause for its
existence remains obscure. It is said to have resulted from the following 172
practice. The father of every first-born son in Feletoa went to this spot
and struck the earth once with the butt of a large stick of toa (*Casuarina*). 173
The depression and the stick used in producing it shared the name *tukitou*. The accumulative result of these earth poundings is said to be the large depression.

The stories, regarding the Makave fill, the wall Kilikilitefua, and the 172
Feletoa depression, share a decidedly impossible flavor. The absence of any 173
haphazard element in the stone wall seems to contradict the possibility of so
casual and gradual a method of construction as that set forth in the narrative. 349
The accurate lines and careful piling of stones suggests not only skilled workmen but a more definite purpose than the story allows. The excellent barrier that the wall afforded between Utuatea and Makave, augmented by its slightly elevated position above any approach from the mainland, suggests

172 something closely resembling a defence, or at least a boundary to a restricted 173 area. No known defenses of this type occur in Tonga, however. The Feletoa depression is by far too large to have its origin as traditionally related. [349] These stories seem to illustrate rationalized explanations of peculiarities of unknown origin. The story of the Makave fill, allowing for exaggeration, seems the most possible of the lot. There are other Tongan stories of the reclaiming of land from the sea (p. 100).

PETROGLYPHS

172 531 Some petroglyphs on the island of Telekivavau, Haapai, first came to the attention of students through the efforts of Mr. Clement L. Wragge and Mr. Arthur Rounds. The group includes seven elipses, more or less circular, three of them with from one to two outer appendages and one of them with a series of more or less equidistant lines radiating outward from the rim. The remaining figures consist of an anthropomorphic representation with triangular body, closely associated with a small cross, and a line complex including as an important element a cross with arms each terminating in three prongs. The figures appear to be carelessly associated without suggestive organization.

Mr. Rounds reports the occurrence of a larger group of even simpler figures on the southwest end of the island of Tonumea, Haapai, situated on the shore line just above high water mark. I made diligent search for these but failed to find them. They probably had been covered with sand since Mr. Rounds' visit.

These are the only petroglyphs which had come to the attention of Tongan 172 students previous to my visit. Petroglyphs of a type entirely different from those on Telekivavau were found on the stone retaining walls of several of 531 the langis in Mua, Tongatabu.

764 Most of these, including the largest and most elaborate, are on the langi Katoa (p. 40) where designs appear on all four sides of this structure, but more on the south and east sides. All five terraces contain figured stones, their positions relative to each other suggesting no logical order.

The most simple motifs at Katoa consist of straight, parallel, perpendicular lines, placed at close intervals, entirely covering the vertical surface of a stone. Most of the incised stones are so corrugated. Tier two on the south side of the langi, however, contains four adjoining stones that are covered with simple but effective geometrical designs composed of perpendicular lines, diagonal lines, and chevrons, arranged in alternating groups or in more complex series. The pecked technique involves a very smooth execution. Whatever the original purpose of the figures may have been, the effect produced

172 712 immediately surrounded by a ditch and the stone wall is continued as a retaining element extending along the inner side of the ditch to its bottom. The ditch bottom is 15 feet below the top of the wall and 10 feet below the surface of the adjoining land.

The enclosure is made accessible through a gateway on one side made by squared slabs of stone standing upright, each stone about as high as a man and of sufficient width to conceal a man standing behind. A fill crossing the ditch faces this opening. Through this fill is cut an angular ditch, like a section of a modern military trench, and there are upright slabs of stone, similar to those guarding the gateway, standing at regular intervals on either side of this sunken path which leads from the gateway to the adjoining outer land surface.

Tradition affirms that this structure was used as a fort, as its name implies, but the structural technique, if as described, is unique among the fortifications of Tonga, [173] and so far as I have been able to determine, of Samoa and Fiji as well. According to one account, the fort was built by a Hunga chieftain named Fukofuka who fled to Late to escape from a Vavau chieftain, presumably Ulukalala.

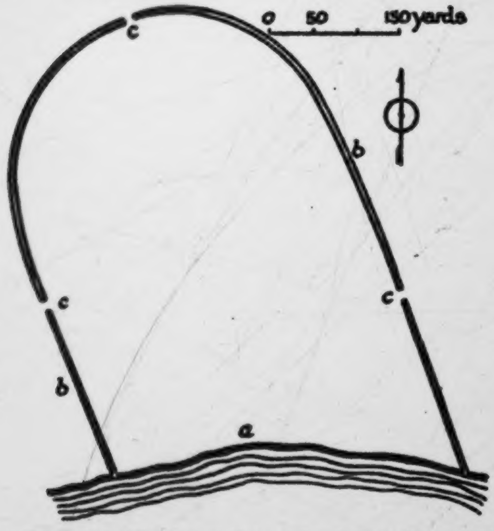

FIGURE 45.—Plan of fortification at Pea, enclosed area 580 yards long, 385 yards wide: *a*, shore of lagoon; *b*, wall 4 to 7 feet high and moat 20 feet wide, 5 to 7 feet deep; *c*, gateways.

8. Pea, Tongatabu (fig. 45).

From an historical standpoint, the fortress at Pea is perhaps the most interesting of the many defenses on the island of Tongatabu because of its recent history (22, pp. 357-360). Erskine (8, p. 148) says that a ditch 12 feet wide surrounded the town of Pea on three sides, the fourth side being naturally defended by the shores of the lagoon. Although the ditch entered the lagoon at either end, it was nearly dry for the greater part of its length. The inner side of the ditch was guarded by a dirt wall 12 feet thick and 15 feet high, strengthened internally by a wall of upright coconut trunks and surmounted by a high reed fence. The eastern gate was defended by "a kind of portcullis, and flank defenses of rough logs . . .". Chevron (18, p. 44, footnote) speaks of stone walls and corbel arch gateways, but investigation proved this to be South Sea fiction. 172 712 [114]

A survey of the existing ruins revealed a ditch and inner earthen wall surrounding an area oval in shape, save for the end formed by the shore of the lagoon (fig. 45, *a*). The moat, now largely effaced, is about 20 feet wide and 5 to 7 feet deep. The earthen wall is of similar width and 4 to 7 feet high. Three gateways cross the moat and pass through the adjoining walls.

The strength of this fortress, as historically related, was somewhat due to the fact that there were only three sides to defend. No boats could approach by way of the shallow, mud-bottomed lagoon.

It is through a study of traditions regarding the fortress of Pea that some sort of a time sequence is established for the other forts of Tongatabu. The first series of events that can be more or less definitely placed in a chronological order was an alliance between the two chieftains Vahai and Ahomee, both of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, against the people of the district of Hahake. These two great warriors built a fortification at Poha, which I failed to locate. Tui Pelehake, the chieftain of Haatalafale and a great leader of the Hahake people in the early part of the nineteenth century, then set about to build a fortification entirely across Tongatabu, in a northeast-southwest direction, cutting off Hahake from the Hihifo district. This ambitious undertaking, now called Pelehake's ditch, was to all practical purposes completed before Vahai discovered the activities of his enemies and put a stop to the work by force of arms. 172 173 712

The ditch and earthen wall remain in part. Starting from the beach Mahafa, near Vatuu, this fortification passes between Houma and Vatuu, passes Hule, meanders through Nukunuku, meets and merges into the outer ditch of the Kolovai fortification at Teekiu, reappears between Teekiu and Masilamea and ends at Fahefa on the Hihifo coast. The ditch is on the Hihifo side throughout. In places the wall is 7 feet in height and the ditch has a maximum depth of 6.7 feet.

After Pelehake's defeat, two of his allies, Takai and Fae re-fortified the town of Pea. Soon after this, Vahai died. His death marked a scattering of those chieftains who had allied themselves to his cause.

9-10. Utulau and Houma, Tongatabu. 172 712

The fortress at Utulau was built by Valu and the defenses about Houma were built by Vaea. Both of these fortifications, which remain largely intact, are similar in all respects to the other fortifications on Tongatabu.

11-12. Koloteekiu and Kolovai, town of Kolovai, Tongatabu.

These fortresses were built by Ohuafi, a son of Motuapuaka, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Koloteekiu had probably been previously fortified, but the walls and moats needed repairing and refencing. A survey of the remains of this fortress

USE OF CAVES

172 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for temporary
342 shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy
discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more careful
172 consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not
764 altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is interesting
to note in this connection that the Fijians somtimes buried their
[171] dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials
in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an
argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for
[173] the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees
who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and
killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and
172 in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial
which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide
764 informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary
766 places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies
were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other
hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island
of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material
from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not foreigners
in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate
that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in districts
where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial
sites by refugees for their dead.

172 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumetekava
342 (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill
south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places
[825] or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that
are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form
of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column
which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found
in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are uncomfortably
172 small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the
342 fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear
no evidence of prolonged occupation.

726 A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of
the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan
refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of
access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

172 764 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

172 764 173 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place. Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 361 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 124 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was
172 one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider-
[127] able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal
[126] observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

172 175 361 [643] Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

> [342] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the
> [351] inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his
> house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person
> [363] has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between
> each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these
> [351] inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

172
superior surface. All of these langis, 4 inside and 17 outside of the fortified 368
area, are considered as being in Lapaha (pp. 36-61). 764

Maolunga includes the dwelling house, outbuildings and burial place of 172
the Tui Haatakalaua family, said to have been first built and occupied by 644
Moungamotua, the first Tui Haatakalaua, and the younger brother of Tui 368
Tonga Kauulufonuafekai. 362

The dwelling house called Fonuamotu was a large thatched building of 172
the better class standing upon a low, earthen *paepae* about 50 yards from the 644
present shore line. 342

Southwest of this house stood a mound called Nukukausiala which formed 362
the *paepae* of the house called Falesinifu (House-of-concubines) where the
common wives of the chieftain dwelt. As it appears today this mound is 172
essentially a rectangular platform of earth, 110 feet long, 75 to 91 feet wide, 342
3 feet high on its land side, and 8 feet above the bottom of the lagoon. More than half of the mound stands out from the shore upon subaqueous foundations. Its sides are faced with loosely piled coral stones, many of large size. Some of the slabs are dressed and others show a rude smoothing. The eastern wall of the mound is so sloping as to permit walking up the incline. The inclination of the other three walls is about 70°.

Immediately south of Nukukausiala is a somewhat similar platform, 35 feet wide. On the lagoon side where the structure just overlaps the low-tide mark, its top is 3.5 feet above the lagoon bottom; on the land side the height is 2.3 feet. The vertical retaining walls are built partly of rough stones and partly of dressed slabs. In the seaward wall, close to the northwestern corner of the platform, is a large, flat, circular stone, 1 foot thick and 10 feet in diameter, a natural coral growth known as brain-coral or mushroom-coral. The stone stands on edge 6.5 feet above the top of the platform. It is called Filimoimaka, the name of the chieftain who brought it from near Kolonga and presented it as a gift to the Tui Haatakalaua.
Its purpose and use seem to have been purely ornamental. On this mound [644]
stood the house which served as the cohabital house of the chieftain and his [362]
common wives. No general name for this type of house, or specific name
for this particular house, could be found.

From the western end of Nukukausiala and extending out into the lagoon 172
is an irregular pile of large, rough, coralline rocks about 25 feet in width 34
and 500 to 600 feet in length, called Mounu. The formation is undoubtedly [361]
artificial. A common story accounts for this rocky isle as built up from the
discarded oven-stones of the great sailing vessel *Lomipeau*, the boat that is 172
reputed to have brought stone slabs from Wallis Island as material for one 173
of the large langis. Another account explains this pile of stones as the begin- 34
ning of a causeway that the Tui Tonga Pau started to build across the lagoon

172
173 from Mua to the Tukutonga point east of Nukualofa (p. 18). The first
34 account needs no comment; the second is highly improbable.

172 About 50 feet southeast of Nukukausiala is a circular, round topped sand
764 mound, 40 feet in base diameter and 3 feet high. It is the burial mound
[368] [644] (*faitoka*) where the common wives of the Tui Haatakalaua were buried.

A few yards northeast of this *faitoka* is the low, oval, earthen mound
172 where the house called Falekilikili formerly stood. This house served as a
344 place where the small, black, volcanic pebbles called *kilikili*, used in decorating
[368] grave mounds, were sorted and oiled previous to use. Ordinarily this house
[764] was tapu to every one. Only after a death in the Tui Haatakalaua family
[644] were the old women from among the chieftain's retainers permitted to enter
this house and perform the duties associated with it. Close to the north side
172 of Falekilikili was a shallow, funnel-shaped well where the old women
312 washed their hands after oiling the *kilikili* stones.

The inlet from the lagoon is now nothing more than a small mangrove
172 swamp, but anciently it is said to have contained sufficient water to permit
133 large, double-hulled sailing vessels to enter and anchor. Traces of stone
172 work about the edges of this swamp suggest that the channel was at least
503 partly artificial. The stones seen are dressed coral slabs, generally showing
only their tops above ground at the swamp edge.

172 In the center of the inlet, opposite the *faitoka*, there is a small island
[133] called Vakaniua. It was at this island that the sailing vessel of the Tui
[504] Haatakalaua was moored when at the home port. The island derived its
name from the boat, the name being progressively handed down from one
[552] boat to its successor. The original boat derived its name from having carried
the chieftain Fotofili to the island of Niuafoou, north of the Vavau group.

172 About 50 yards east of the house Fonuamotu stood the house called Tuku-
342 motafa, the dwelling of Lauaki, ranking matapule (non-chiefly official) in the
644 suite of the Tui Haatakalaua. It is now marked by an earthen *paepae* of the
[362] usual shape with its major axis about 35 feet long.

About half way between the house of the chieftain and that of his ranking
172 matapule was the chieftain's bathing place, called Malama. It is a funnel-
312 shaped, circular basin about 20 feet in diameter, said originally to have been
[368] one "fathom" deep but now not more than 2 feet deep and quite dry. It is
not known whether the bath was naturally supplied with water, which would
necessarily be brackish, or was filled with rain water from the roofs of the
houses, said to have been the source of supply of many of these bathing
places.

172 The cemetery of the Tui Haatakalaua lay inside the ancient shore line.
764 It now consists of four stone-walled burial platforms, collectively called
[368] Loamanu, a name derived from the largest of the burial structures. (See
p. 58.)

172
346 feet in length by 20 feet in maximum width. The god of that place was
Taliaitupou, or Kaliaitupou.

172 About 50 yards southwest from this god-house once stood the structure
342 called Matangipuomai, the *falefakautangata,* or sleeping house of the oldest
644 son of the king, while unmarried, and of the selected group of young men
comprising his princely suite. As the site is now occupied by a wooden
[362] dwelling of European type, nothing could be determined regarding the size
or orientation of the original house.

The site of the *falefakaufefine,* the sleeping house of the oldest, unmarried daughter of the king and of her young maiden attendants, could not be located nor its name ascertained. It is thought to have stood north of the king's house.

The *falehau,* the guest house of the king, was the largest house in Mua, reputed to have been equipped with eight large houseposts. Nothing remains but the mound, of which the major axis, extending northwest and southeast, is 80 feet in length; the maximum width is 50 feet. Its specific name is said to have been Tatakamotonga. According to some reports, it occupied the center of a grassy area, a *malae.*

172 Outside the walls of Mua, east of the district called Tatakamotonga, there
361 was a large area called Ahau (literally, of king), which seems to have been
644 an outside addition to the lands of the reigning Tui Kanokupolu. The only
place of chiefly importance located here, however, in so far as could be
172 determined, was Kikiloi, a god-house of the Tui Tonga where the priest
346 Kautai is said to have officiated for the god Taufaitaha. Cultivation has
changed the house-mound to such an extent that it was impossible to determine its size and orientation.

172 With reference to the age of Lapaha, the feature shown on the map as
133 the former shore line is of special interest. A survey of this old shore
terrace leaves no possible doubt that it once constituted the margin of the
361 lagoon. Its chief archaeological importance lies in the fact that the ends
of the moat surrounding three sides of Lapaha, terminate abruptly at this line.
This seems to indicate that this was the true shore line at the time the
fortification was built. The people of the district say that the strip of low-
172 lands between the former and present shore lines was artificially built by one
173 of the ancient Tui Tonga. The fabulous ship *Lomipeau* is said to be buried
361 somewhere under this fill. The undertaking of reclaiming land on such a
scale, without any apparent need for it, is too large to seem probable.

Dates depending on genealogies are bound to be inaccurate, but must serve where no other convincing data are obtainable. Allowing 30 years to a generation, Lapaha became the seat of the Tui Tonga about the last of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. The fortifications around

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Lapaha were built, or rebuilt, towards the end of the fourteenth century. 172
Maolunga was finished and occupied between the end of the fourteenth and 173
the beginning of the fifteenth century. The capital was transferred from 361
Mua to Nukualofa early in the nineteenth century. Thus, the town anciently
known as Lapaha, now called Mua, was the seat of government for about
600 years.

BURIAL MOUND

172 [137] About 200 yards north of the kitchen midden, 50 yards from the western shore of Pangaimotu, an excavation was made in a circular, flat-topped mound, 50 feet in diameter at the base, 24 feet in diameter at the top, and 4 feet in height. The mound was covered with brush and a few trees, including a large hala (*fala; Pandanus*), a sago palm (*longolongo*), and a coconut estimated to be 50 years of age.

172 173 All the informants consulted previous to excavating agreed that the place was not a burial mound, but the *paepae* upon which there formerly stood a god-house of the god Tui Haafakafanua. The exact date of the destruction of this house is not known, but Takai, a Tongan hero-chieftain belonging to the era immediately preceding that of George I Tupou, and who lived for a time on Pangaimotu, is said to have refused to build his house upon this mound because it had been the dwelling place of a god. The house must have disappeared previous to that time, probably early in the nineteenth century.

172 121 A trench 4 feet in width was cut more than half way through the center of the mound. From this trench, smaller excavations were made on either side, wherever it seemed advisable. Excavation confirmed the story that the mound had been used as a dwelling site.

172 A surface layer, averaging nearly 1 foot in thickness, is heavily charged with ash and charcoal. This layer produced two buried earth ovens, a quantity of burnt coral oven-rock, many marine shells, many bones of small vertebrates, and a few artifacts. The ovens measured respectively, 2.1 feet in diameter, 0.9 foot in depth, and 3.3 feet in diameter, 1 foot in depth. The artifacts consist of: (a) three fragments of bone thatching needles; (b) the half of a segment from the center of a left, human femur, split straight and evenly, but without tool marks; (c) two smooth, black, volcanic pebbles, of the type commonly used for decorating grave mounds, found at the very base of the layer of household refuse; (d) two small potsherds. (See p. 115.) This refuse layer also produced some pig bones, not in coordinating relative position, but grouped within a very small area.

172 764 Under the surface layer, the mound is composed of light-colored, clean sand, entirely unlike the dark, loamy soil which constitutes the surrounding surface and the foundation upon which the mound rests. Buried in this sand were found skeletal material representing 11 individuals; 8 adults in a fairly good state of preservation, and 3 children very poorly preserved (fig. 47, *a*). All the skeletons were disposed prone on the back with arms and legs extended parallel with the major axis of the body and with no definite orientation. Most of the individual remains had been entered at different times, as in other burial grounds. Two burials were directly above an earlier burial, although not in actual contact and orientated differently. The skeletons were found 1 foot to 3 feet below the surface of the mound; the average depth was 2 feet. In a superposed burial, one adult rested directly upon another, without interval, and both were orientated with heads to the northwest. The top burial was in markedly better condition than the bottom. One of the earth ovens described was situated directly above a burial, its rim top 0.4 foot below the mound surface. The condition of the bones varied greatly. Many were fairly well preserved while others were in an advanced state of decomposition. The bones of the children, as might be expected,

clean beach sand. The only interesting material found at this site was pottery (p.). There is no evidence of European contact. 172

BURIAL PLACES

1. At langi Tamatou (p. 55), a fortunate and unexpected opportunity affording itself, it was decided to excavate this structure, hoping thereby to determine the nature of the stone vault, to obtain specimens of primitive artifacts, to acquire data on burial methods, and to substantiate or confound the truth of the tradition that a wooden image constituted the only burial therein. 172 121

The opportunity for investigation was limited in scope of time to a single day. Consequently, the maximum available force of men, under the direct orders of a high Tongan chieftain, was set to work. The consent of these men to participate in such labor was only obtained through chiefly command. 172 114 [122]

In an endeavor to locate a vault, or burial deposit, holes 4 to 5 feet deep were sunk at intervals of 6 feet into the top of the mound. A large pocket of fine, light-colored sand, such as invariably surrounds native burials, was encountered near the center of the examined area. This pocket was extensively and carefully excavated but produced nothing. Further excavation produced equally negative results. 172 121

It is remarkable that such an extensive and well built stone structure, designed to be used as a king's cemetery, should lack a stone vault. According to tradition, all such structures are so equipped, and many of them are known to contain vaults. It is equally certain that Tamatou has no vault. 172 764

This tomb belongs to the small series of stone tombs preceding the great stone langis which occur so numerously in ancient Lapaha (p. 96). There is reason to believe that it is among the first stone langis to be built in Tonga and the absence of a vault tends to question the ancient existence of stone vaults in Tonga. Investigation on a scale and of a nature that present native standards will not tolerate would be required to furnish an intelligent answer to this question. [128]

My stubborn presumption in calling this structure a tomb, in spite of the negative evidence, seems justified by the extensive mythological reference to the place. Tradition states that no man was buried there and excavation supported this statement. A failure to locate the wooden doll said to have been buried there was to have been expected. The figure is said by some to have been made of the soft wood of the fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), a material that would disintegrate and be lost in the surrounding soil in a relatively short length of time. 172 764 173

2. At langi Folokamanu. 172

There is reason to believe that Folokamanu is one of the oldest langis in Tonga (p. 69). A daughter of one of the early kings is said to have been buried here. 764

Tongan pottery seems to resemble that of Fiji in many essential traits, 172
as is to be expected, but to differ somewhat from it in many details. The 323
similarity between the cooking wares is much more pronounced than that 171
between the finer, decorated ware.

Good sources of clay in Tonga were not observed, but there were volcanic 135
as well as coral islands in the group to serve as possible sources, and clay
is probably not uncommon. There certainly is no lack of stubborn, sticky
mud, as the roads will testify.

CONCLUSION

The culture traits and products disclosed by archaeological investigations 172
in Tonga are representative of the entire group rather than of peculiarly 184
different districts; a single culture was disclosed. Certain rare, unique features may have been either local peculiarities within the culture, isolated innovations resulting from foreign diffusion, or monuments of an intruding culture. Their rare occurrence renders them generally unimportant. A list of these unique features might include the Fijian type of house platform observed on the island of Mango, the square house platform on the island of Utungaki, the stone fortification on the island of Late, the petroglyphs on the islands of Telekivavau and Tonumea, and even the great trilithon on Tongatabu.

On the other hand, the Tongan tendency towards the quick adoption of new ideas, whether of local or foreign conception, a characteristic very apparent in the historic Tongan, could only have resulted in a mottled culture with many peculiar expressions, which might have included any or all such highly individualistic features.

Not only are sub-divisions of negligible importance in this province, but 172
no reasonable indication of a human culture or foreign race of people preceding the culture and race of its historic occupation was encountered. This statement is made with a full realization of the paucity of known data reflecting any great antiquity, but with the feeling that this paucity is principally due to the non-existence of such data.

A great part of the investigation was limited to the Tongatabu group 172
of islands. This was not due to any arbitrary selection on my part, but rather 121
to the illuminating fact that sites apparently worthy of investigation, considering the limited time available for work, are relatively rare elsewhere. This is true of structures of stone and earth, accumulations of kitchen refuse, and all other interesting features, definitely indicating a much more intesively inhabited state in the south of the archipelago than in the north.
Native traditions to the effect that Tongatabu was settled before Haapai 172
and Vavau, and that these groups remained but sparsely settled until com- 173

172 paratively recent times, are thus supported by facts resulting from the work
173 of the expedition.

Investigations shed not a little light upon certain elements of primitive
172 culture that are now irrevocably lost to the ethnologist: the sources of build-
333 ing stone and the methods of its quarrying; the occurrence of quarry sites on islands far removed from any building sites, supporting the tradition of the transportation by boat of large stones over considerable water distances; the detail of stone structural work and the technical methods involved in its execution; the decorative element in Tongan culture as expressed in stone.

172 The great stone structures of Tonga definitely reflect the strongly centralized socio-political organization of its primitive inhabitants. The existence
643 of a king, holding unlimited sway over a united Tonga, was an historical fact at the time of the discovery of the archipelago by Europeans, and the long rule of a single dynasty of monarchs is clearly pictured in its earlier prime by native tradition. Archaeological support is hardly needed to substantiate the despotic nature of the powers of the Tui Tonga, and yet its contribution of evidence is by no means the least persuasive from the available list of data.

172 The building of the truely colossal stone structures which occur so numerously in the little kingdom involved a tremendous amount of labor, no small
333 degree of skill, and a considerable expenditure of time. Long years of training, well organized effort, and absolute control of labor under a directing head were essential factors necessary to enable the successful construction of one of the larger langis.

172 The power of religious fervor, if properly organized under the control of a constructive leader, could account for such laborious creations, but most
333 Tongan monuments were apparently constructed for the benefit of individ-
643 uals in a single noble family, whose position in society, if religious, was primarily political. Here we see the hand of an exalted lord building for his own glory, rather than the zeal of an inspired populace erecting temples to its gods. It was the power vested in the Tui Tonga that made it possible for him to ordain the training of men from youth in the arts of masonry, and to draft all the manual labor required for any necessary duration of time. No local chieftain, with but the freewill assistance of the men included in the village or district constituency, could be expected to attain success in such a project.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the probable development and ensuing decline of the stone-tomb culture seems to have coincided with a parallel rise and fall in the power of the Tui Tonga. It is the powerful Tui Tatui whose name is first associated with stone construction by native tradition, and the last few Tui Tonga on the list, weakened by a series of successful rebellions, made no important contributions to stone work.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 461 829 **8. Nae hanga ki fe hoo sipeiti:** Where was your spade turned, that is, what has your spade been turned towards?

This is the usual retort to one who begs that which he should have prepared for himself. It refers primarily to the produce of the garden but is used of wealth generally. The word *sipeiti* is not Tongan, but a corruption of the English "spade." Whether, before contact with Europeans, there was a similar expression with the real Tongan word for a spade or digging-stick, we are unable to say.

539 241 461 **9. Matenga i vao kaka:** Fatigue in barren soil.

The word *vao* signifies a piece of scrub land. The husbandman in preparing for his garden selects a site and clears the brush. This expression is applicable to one who undergoes the labor and fatigue of clearing and planting a piece of land that proves unfertile. It is labor in vain.

539 173 643 581 **10. Ne ongo e fena ka ko Nua:** Although she has sprouted yet *Nua.*

An early Tui Tonga sent to the chief Loau for one of his daughters. Instead of asking outright for the girl the Tui Tonga's messenger was instructed to ask Loau for yams. Possibly the messenger himself did not know the purport of his errand but Loau at once understood, probably from previous agreement between himself and the Tui Tonga. Loau had two daughters, the younger not yet of marriageable age, the other named Nua, had recently borne a child. Loau, therefore, still in the language of the yam crop, returned answer to the Tui Tonga that one part of the crop was not yet ripe, and that the other part had already sprouted, using the word *fena,* which means a piece of seed yam which has been planted and commenced to grow. The Tui Tonga replied as above, meaning of course that although Nua had borne a child to someone else yet he still wanted her, for she was a very beautiful woman.

11. Oku fena ae tau kei mula ae tau: The crop is sprouting, the crop is still unripe.

As explained in No. 10, the reference is to the answer of Loau to the Tui Tonga, who sent for one of Loau's daughters. One is over-ripe, and the other is not ripe enough.

539 245 **12. Paki moe talaha:** Pick the remainders too.

In the breadfruit tree all the fruit do not ripen together, and so in plucking the crop the ripe fruit will be taken and the others left to mature. This expression means to strip the tree bare of unripe as well as of ripe fruit.

539 244 622 **13. Pala a kahokaho:** Rottenness of the *kahokaho.*

The *kahokaho* is a species of yam which grows to a great size and is highly valued. It is a chiefly yam, that is, one especially suitable for presentation to a chief. Even if this prime vegetable has commenced to decay yet it is a *kahokaho,* and something better than the best specimens of many other kinds of yam. Besides what may be called its ethical qualifications due to its rank in the yam hierarchy it is a physically fit tuber, as the remainder of the flesh is not affected by the beginnings of decay.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **551. Tutungia a hulu Tungua:** Shrivelling of Tungua leaf.
644 A thing that is past its prime or damaged, but yet valued. **Tungua** was
183 a residence of the great chief women, the Female Tui Tonga, and the
Tamaha. The expression is said to have originated in the fact that there was once a Female Tui Tonga who suffered from some facial disfigurement. She apparently is the shrivelled Tungua leaf. Whatever misfortune might befall so great a personage she was still the Female Tui Tonga, and so to be regarded with reverence.

539 **552. Tuanaki Auka:** Depending on Auka.
571 Tradition says that Auka was one of the men in close attendance upon
643 the Tui Tonga, Telea. On account of a wrong commited by Talafaiva,
644 the wife of Telea, Auka was bidden by his royal master to take her and
kill her. Auka performed the Tui Tonga's bidding to the letter, much to the chagrin of the latter, who loved Talafaiva dearly and who supposed that Auka knew his heart sufficiently well to understand that he did not really desire his harsh order to be carried out. Hence a vain confidence, to depend on one who does not come up to expectation.

539 **553. Vete fakafutuna:** Plunder like the Futunans, that is, to
643 plunder completely, strip of everything.
648 The Tui Tonga, Kauulufonuafekai (16th century?) the great voyager
173 and warrior, went in pursuit of the two men, Tamajia and Malofafa, who
had murdered his father Takalaua, the previous Tui Tonga. Kauulufonuafekai and his brothers pursued the murderers from island to island, at length coming up with them in Futuna in the New Hebrides. A battle followed after which the Tongans withdrew to a small island called Alofa, but by a misadvertence Latu-toevave, the youngest brother of the Tui Tonga, was left behind on the island where the battle was fought. The Futunans did not kill him but by his advice did obeisance on the following day to the victorious Kauulufonuafekai. Peace was made between Futuna and the Tongans and the Tui Tonga, in recognition of the kindness of his late foes in sparing the life of his brother, ceded to them the right to take for their own any Tongan boat that might touch at their shores, and all that it contained, stipulating only that the people should in no way be molested. This right has been exercised by the people of Futuna and has apparently been carried out so thoroughly as to pass into a proverb.

(Compare the Samoan word *faatafuna*, to lay waste. Possibly *tafuna* became *fatuna* by metathesis and then through misunderstanding was altered to *futuna*, the name of the island.)

KAVA

[The dried root of the kava (*Piper methisticum*) is ground and well
276 mixed with water. The dregs of solid root are strained out and the infusion
[137] drunk. It is the indispensable adjunct of ceremonies, and even a party of
276 friends sitting together do not drink kava without a considerable amount
576 of formality. Proper precedence in the kava circle is most carefully ob-
565 served. A chief's rank is accurately indicated not only by his position in
554 the ring but also by the order in which he is served.]

form the *moëmoë*[1] by embracing her feet when they left 175 644
her. 554

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure [264] [784]
built of the high estimation in which women were held [562]
upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the [643]
Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the 173
epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history 175
may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy 643
prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga— [651]
lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits;
and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui
Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from [651]
Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from [648]

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[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it [576]
sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches [565]
the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm
and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the [516]
moëmoë must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing [753]
death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute [164]
to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë*
frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu*
they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when [264]
the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised.
A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) [648]
before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart [167]
was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of
the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the
traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence.
The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it
cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued
from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u.

[4] Boscawen Island.

[5] Keppel's Island.

173 Uvea,[1] from Futuna,[2] and even from Haamoa [3] and the far
175 islands to the North.[4] No man knows whence he derived
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods
[648] themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this
[651] is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of
[776] Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of
[203] the king were carried from one end of the land to the
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the
[203] message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo*
Tokoto" (making proclamation when reclining).[5] And
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world
175 643 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put
466 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great
349 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;
and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua
[224] into the bay, and they would land on the islands to
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

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[1] Wallis Island.
[2] Hoorn Island.
[3] Samoa.
[4] Gilbert Islands.

[361] [311] [161] [5] At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater than at present.

lived on the island went down to the landing-place to 173
see whether perchance they had left anything. They saw 175
a bunch of cocoa-nuts and ran to pick it up, and when 643
they reached the spot they saw lying near it the body of a little new-born child, but the head was like the head of a dove. The old woman took it up gently, and found that it still breathed. She had no children, and she begged her husband to let her adopt it and bring it up as her own; and she took it home and reared it in secret. And as the girl grew up she lost the dove's head, and grew into the fairest woman that was ever born into the world. So fair was she that her foster-parents greatly feared lest some man should see her and take her from them; and they taught her to hide always in the cover of the trees, and to look well abroad before she ventured into the sea to bathe, for great monsters floated on the sea, who, if they saw her, would swallow her up. But the days passed and she saw no one, for Ata was remote from the ways of men, and the fishermen knew it for a barren spot.

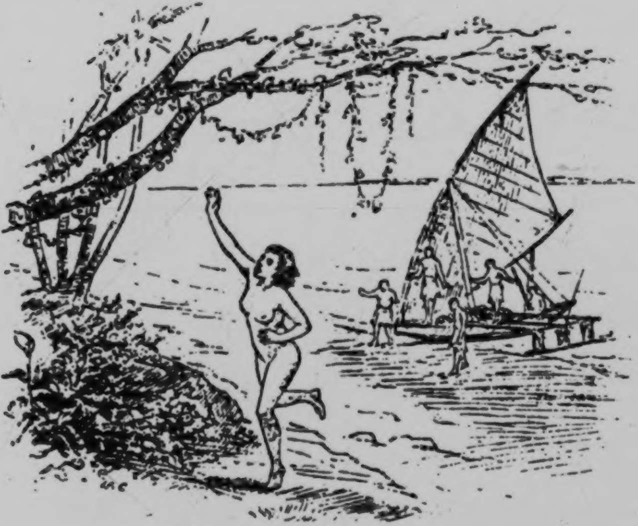
Now there came a day when the Tui Tonga sent his fishermen, bidding them return with fish, for he hungered for them. But the chief of the fishermen hesitated, saying that the weather was too stormy for their nets, whereat the Tui Tonga grew very wroth, and swore that unless he had fish that day the chief fisherman should die. So they [224]
went out into the bay and tried to cast their nets, but each cast was spoiled by the wind and waves, which twisted the net and drove the floats under. And towards evening the chief said, "Let us at least try Ata: perchance the water is smoother there. Let us cast but once, and if we fail,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

173 then let us return and face the anger of the Tui Tonga,
175 for only the gods could catch fish in this weather."

643 So they sailed to Ata and cast their nets on the lee side of the island, but could catch nothing. And the chief fisherman left the others to roll up the nets and went round the beach of the island to look to windward. And as he passed the point he saw a girl bathing, who, seeing him, fled swiftly up the sand and was hidden in the trees; and he wondered greatly, for he knew not that any man lived on the island, and this girl was the fairest that he had ever seen. He said nothing to his companions, but returned to Mua with them, and went into the presence of the Tui Tonga.

[501]



"*She fled swiftly up the sand.*"

"Where are your fish?" the king asked.

"The gods themselves could not take fish in such a 173
sea. Pardon thy servants, for we have toiled as never 175
man toiled before." 643

"Did I not say that unless you brought me fish you should die? Have ye ever known me to lie? Bring bamboos and the trough, and cut him in pieces."

So they brought the great trough and the bamboo knives, and bound him with vines, unresisting. But when the king's cooks took the knives to cut his flesh he cried out, "Let me speak one word to the Tui Tonga. If I must die I must. I do not ask for a life that is of no value to my chief; but I know something that will never be known unless I tell it before I die."

"What does he know?" said the king: "if he knew the secret of the wind to make it fair at will, yet it should not save him."

And the men went to seize him again, but he cried, "It is well: let me die, since the chief cares not for a beautiful girl."

When he heard this the Tui Tonga cried, "Stop. Do not harm him. What is this he says about a girl? Let him tell us first: if he has fooled us then he shall die."

And the fisherman said, "What am I that I should lie to my chief? I know the fairest girl in all the world, and if the chief wills I can bring her here."

And the Tui Tonga said, "Loose him and make ready a canoe; but if he has lied to us, he shall be hewn in pieces with tortures."

So they prepared the canoe, and the chief of the fishermen called his men together and they set sail, and dragged their canoe ashore at Ata; and the chief fisherman bade

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OU9 Tonga OU9

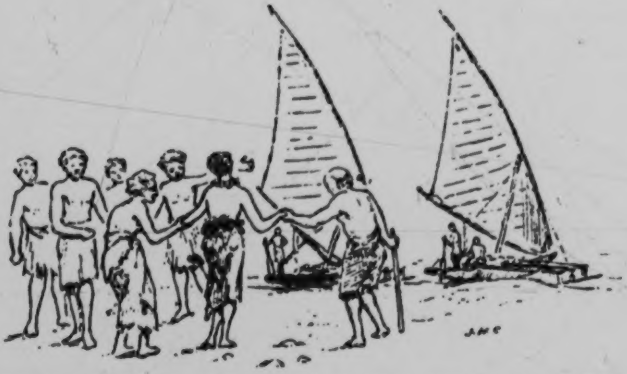
173 his men wait near the canoe, and he went up alone into
175 the trees. There he saw two houses, the one closed and
643 the other open, and he went in and found an old woman
sitting on the mats. And he said, "I have come for the maiden to be the chief's handmaid."

But she feigned not to understand him, and said, "What maiden will you take? Only I and my husband live on Ata, and we have seen no maiden."

But he said, "You cannot hide her from me; for we are many, and you but two only. Come now, I will break down the door of the house if you do not show her to me."

And the old woman began to weep, crying for her only daughter; but he bade her be of good heart, for she ought rather to rejoice that her daughter was chosen to be the handmaid of the Tui Tonga. And she said, "Wait till I have prepared her for her lord;" and she took the girl and bathed her in the sea, and oiled her with scented oil, and bound flowering wreaths in her hair, weeping all the while, and took the finest mats of Haamoa, fringed with the precious scarlet feathers of the kula, and bound them round her slender waist, and brought her to the canoe. And the men who saw her were smitten with her beauty, for there had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she. And they set sail, leaving the woman weeping on the shore, and bore the girl away weeping for her foster-mother's grief, and for fear of that which should befall her. And when they came near to Mua they saw a great crowd assembled at the landing-place, for the Tui Tonga in his impatience had left his house to watch for the return of the canoe; and he kept calling to them to ply their paddles with a stronger hand. When they drew near he cried out to them to tell her name; and they replied, 173 "Vae-lavea-mata" (The-foot-that-wounds-the-eye). 175 643 And he took her to his house. [551]

And when her first child was born he called him Kaulu-fonua (Dweller-in-the-hilltops), and he ordered him to [551] be taken away from his mother lest she should suckle him and her beauty be spoiled. So they took him to Niutao, and nursed him there. And a second child was born to [551] her, and they called him Mounga-motua (Old-mountain),



"There had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she."

and his father ordered that he too should be taken from his mother, and nursed by one of her women. And a [551] third child was born—a girl—who was called Melino-a-Tonga (The-peace-of-Tonga). Her also they took away. And Vae-lavea-mata grieved for her children whom she had never seen, so that when her fourth child would be born she besought the king earnestly that he would let the child be with her. "For," she said, "to what end have I suffered in bringing them forth, if I may not

173 suckle them as other women suckle their children?"
175 And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child;
643 and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all
saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon them, even in the planting-time, when every man should
173 be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for himself in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken for their *malae.* And the stone-cutters hewed a huge stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go, and drag the stone for the side of my *malae;* so I shall not be forgotten hereafter."

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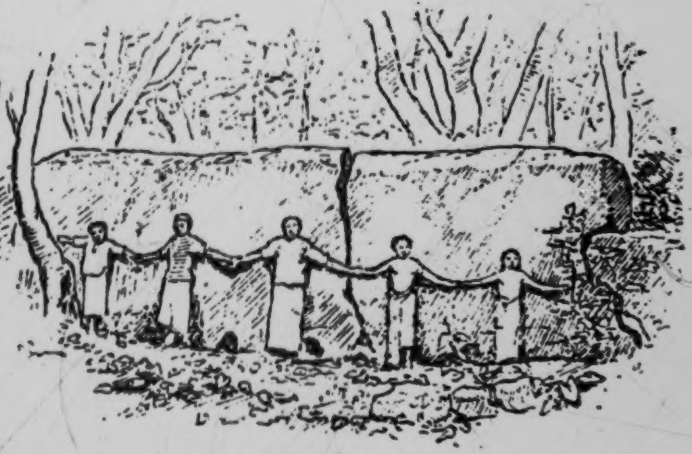

The Tomb of a King.

They toiled at the stone all day, sore at heart, for it 173
was planting-time, and in the evening they sent to Tui 175
Tonga, praying that he would suffer them first to plant 643
their yams, and afterwards return to drag the stone, for 466
that it would take many days, and the time for yam- 764
planting was far spent. But he returned answer that they were idle and dishonoured his commands. And the people were afraid when they heard his answer, and gathered together to the stone before it was yet day. And the sun rose on their toil, but the stone was so heavy that when it was low in the west they had only reached the cave Anameama, on the Liku, where there is fresh water. Their throats were dried up with thirst, and they crowded one upon the other in their haste to drink; but so many were they that before they had all drunk the pool was dry, and they licked the mud, and cursed their king in their hearts.

Then one said, "How long shall we suffer this? He has 173
other tasks in his mind for us, and who knows whether 175
we shall live or die, and our wives be given to others? 643 682
Shall we not take rest?"

So they conspired that night to kill the Tui Tonga, and in the morning two old men, Tamajia and Malofafa of Belehake, met him in the path as he went to bathe, and slew him there, and cut up the body so that none might know it, and hung the limbs in a tree.

And one of the king's women ran to Niutao, to tell the children that their father was dead. They were racing toy canoes in the shallow water; and Kau-ulu-fonua, the elder, now almost grown to manhood, was intent upon his canoe, and saw not that the sea was rising and falling

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OU9 Tonga OU9

173 unnaturally, but his brother, Mounga-motua, saw it as he
175 sat watching the game on the beach. And he cried,
613 "Chief, the sea is strange." But the elder, thinking
682 only of his game, told him roughly to be silent. Then
[103] the younger saw the sea turn to blood, and as he again cried out in fear, the woman came and sat down respectfully before her chief, therefore the place is called
[103] Faete (Crouching-place) to this day. She said, "I bring tidings (*tala fo'ou*)" (therefore the place is called Tala-fo'ou to this day). "The chief, your father, has been slain."

Kau-ulu-fonua leaped to his feet, and seizing the mast of a canoe, he broke it into three pieces, and gave them to his brothers and to his sister, saying, "Which of us knows our father? Only the child Lo-tawai has seen him." And Lo-tawai answered, "Yes, I shall know him."

So they went forth, led by the woman, and came to the wood called Vao-tabu (Sacred Grove) in which the king had been slain; and the woman led them to the tree in which their father's body hung in a basket. The place is called Tataüunga-o-Tui-Tonga, because the body was cut up there. And Lo-tawai looked on it and said, "This is our father: I know the face for his face."[1] And they buried their father there, and called the people to them to war against his murderers, who fled to Eua.

There Kau-ulu-fonua fought them and drove them out, and they fled to Haapai: thither the brothers pursued them, and they fled to Vavau. And as the avengers still

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[1] Penem etiam patris per granditatem mirabilem recognovit; cui quidem nomen proprium datum erat, "Ulie-hae-ā," scilicet "Anguis-qui-sepimenta-perrumpit."

173 pursued, they launched forth upon the ocean, and sailed
175 to Niua-tobutabu, and thence before the wind to distant
643 Niua-foou; but even thither did Kau-ulu-fonua pursue
682 them. And they fled northward again to Haamoa, whose
[103] ancient name was Hahafakamoa,[1] and were driven out
from thence. Then they put forth again, and fled to
[823] Uvea, and still they were pursued. So they fled westward
to Futuna; and because this was the end of the
world, and there was no land beyond them to which they
might flee, they awaited the coming of Kau-ulu-fonua and
his brothers with the remnant of their army.

173 And when he landed, he prepared his men for war, and
175 the men of Futuna, marvelling at his prowess, said, "Thou
643 art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods." And
682 he mocked them, and cried, "Then I will leave my back to
776 the gods to defend, and myself defend my face." And as
he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's
murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the
back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he
cried, "The gods are fools: they cannot even shield my
173 back." And he seized the old man who had wounded
175 him, and held him until his men came up; and they took
643 the town, and bound both the murderers, and brought
682 them before him, and there was peace. Therefore to this
day are there two divisions of Futuna—the one Futuna,
and the other Futuna Tini because it was left unharmed
[648] by the war. And Kau-ulu-fonua told the people of
Futuna that, as a reward to them for having helped him
to seize his father's murderers, he would grant that they
should always spoil the Tongan canoes that reached their

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[1] Hahafakamoa = beating like a cock's wings.

173 shores.[1] And he gave to the people of Uvea that they
175 should comb the hair of the Tongans who landed on their
643 island with the tail of a sting-ray; and to Niua that they
682 648 should push away the canoes of the Tongans, and not let
103 them land: therefore is Niua called Niua-teke-vaka (Niua
the canoe spurner).[2]

Now the murderers were old men and had no teeth, and when they were brought before Kau-ulu-fonua, he ordered hard dry kava to be brought, and made them chew it before him, so that their mouths were filled with blood. And he bade them pour water into the bowl, and knead and strain the kava, and he drank the draught
551 alone. Therefore was he named Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai (Kau-ulu-fonua the savage); and he slew his father's murderers in Futuna and returned to Tonga.

173 When he was returned he called his brothers to him,
175 and he said, "I am the chief, but this people have
643 dared to slay the Tui Tonga. What will they not dare? And how shall the land stand fast if the chief be slain? Now therefore it is my mind to set a chief over the people to govern them, and I will be supreme lord of the soil only, and of the offerings." And he made his brother,

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[1] When the Tongan *matabule* Kau Moala visited Futuna in 1808 he was spoiled of all his goods, and his canoe was broken up. On leaving he was presented with everything he required, but, despite his entreaties, not a single article of his own property was returned to him.

[2] After I had left Tonga I asked an old native of Futuna whether he knew any legends of a Tongan invasion. He wrote down for me an old Saga describing an invasion by the King of Tonga, who cried, when wounded in the back, "The gods are fools!" The only difference in the two stories was that the Futuna account describes the utter rout of the Tongans with so great a slaughter that stacks were made of the dead bodies. Traditions so corroborated rise at once to the dignity of history.

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OU9 Tonga OU9

Mounga-motua, lord over the people, and sent him to the 173
peninsula, calling him Tui Haatakalaua. 175

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Since that day, though there have been wars in Tonga, and chief has fought against chief, yet the Tui Tonga has passed unharmed through them all, for he was lord of the soil only and of the offerings.

And there came a Tui Haatakalaua, named Moungatonga, who took to wife a chief woman of Haamoa (Samoa), of the land of Safata in Upolu, named Tohu'ia. She bore him a son, Ngata (Snake), from whom the lords of Kanokubolu, the kings of Tonga, are descended. For Moungatonga saw that they did not honour the chief whom they obeyed, but only him to whom they gave the offerings; and he made his son Ngata lord over the people and his descendants, and called him Tui Kanokubolu, and he himself was content to receive the offerings only. From this Ngata, child of the woman of Haamoa, were all the Tui Kanokubolu sprung, even to Tubou, the king.

Such is the tradition of the origin of the curious politi- 175
cal system of Tonga that so puzzled Captain Cook. It is 643
easy to divest the story of its envelope of heroic fiction, and to find the kernel of sound history. The chiefs in Polynesia represent the blood of the original family in its purest form, and to ancestor-worshippers they naturally become the living embodiment of the ancestral spirit. As the tribe grows in numbers and importance, they begin to receive semi-divine honours: with the superstitious respect comes power, and with power the inclination to abuse it. The people are goaded into resistance, and the chief, to protect himself and his successors, delegates the

533 present day. As in most primitive countries, both words [538] and music are the work of the same hand. The modern [177] music has adopted the harmonies and cadence of the European compositions which the composers have heard, but it retains a distinctly native character, widely different though it is from the form of the ancient melodies. The songs are all sung in four-part chorus without accompaniment. [538] The poetry is uninteresting in that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love.

538 Of traditionary poetry little remains. The admirable 173 efforts of the Rev. J. E. Moulton came too late to rescue the stores of legendary lore that passed away with the advent of Christianity, but the purely historical traditions that have been rescued, and which form the basis for the early history of the people, may be relied upon as having 000 been correctly handed down. I had a curious instance of the durability of tradition. While conducting the native newspaper in Fiji, I took some trouble to collect and preserve the fragments of historical poetry that were still remembered, and invited contributions from the whole native community. At the same time I sent to press some fragments that were published in a missionary book about 1860. Among the contributions received in response to my appeal was a poem of the murder of Koroitamana (*circa* 1825). It had been gathered from the mouth of a very old woman of Bau. My native subeditor recognised it as being the same as one of the fragments from the missionary book, and brought me the printer's proof. Here, then, was an opportunity of comparing versions of the same poem taken thirty-three years

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OU9 Tonga OU9

APPENDIX.

I.—LIST OF THE TUI TONGA.

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(*As given by Mr E. Tregear on the authority of the Rev. J. E. Moulton.*)

Kohai and his descendants.
Then these were dispossessed, and there came to rule—
Ahoeitu, descendant of Tangaloa.
Lolo Fakanga-la.
Fanga-one-one.
Lihau.
5 **Kofu-tu.**
Kaloa.
Mauhau.
Abuanea.
Ahulunga.
10 **Momo.**
Tuitatui.
Talatama.
Tui-tonga-nui-tama-tou.
Tala-hala-abeabe, his brother.
15 **Tala-kai-fai-ki.**
Tala-fabi-te.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

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Havea-tui-tonga (Makaue tui-tonga i buibui).
Tata-fuu-eiki-mei-mua (Lomi ae tubu Havea).
Takalaua (murdered, *circa* 1535).
20 Kau-ulu-fonua Fekai.
Vaka Fuhu.
Buibui Fata.
Kau-ulu-fonua.
Tabuoji (flourished 1643, and entertained Tasman).
25 Uluaki Matatelea.
Fatafehi.
Uluaki Matata.
Tui Bulotulua.
Bau (who entertained Cook, 1777).
30 Maulubekotofa.
Fatafehi Fuanu Nuiava.
Laufilitonga.

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[113]

II.—TRANSLATION of EXTRACTS from the 'Journal of the Wonderful Voyage made by W. Cornelis Schouten of Hoorn, 1615-17, in the ship Eendracht (Unity)': 1648, Hoorn (with Plates), relating to the discovery of Niua-tobutabu and Futuna.

May.—On the 9th we were in latitude 15° 20′, and by reckoning 1510 miles from the coast of Peru and Chili. At noon, just after dinner, we saw a sail, which seemed to be coming towards us from the southward. As she came near to us we shot at her with one of our pieces right over her to make them strike, but they would not; so then we lowered our boat with ten small-arms men in her to catch them, which, calling to them, we shot another piece, yet without any intent to reach or hurt them, but they would not strike.

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AN EXPERIMENT IN TONGAN HISTORY.

By E. E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D.

TUI TONGA LISTS.

127 ANY attempt to reconstruct the past of Tonga, and to assign approximate periods for the few events that dimly emerge from the mists of forgetfulness, will almost of necessity be based on the list of Tui Tonga, kings of Tonga. At the outset a difficulty presents itself; there are different lists with varying numbers of generations.

Laufilitonga, the last Tui Tonga, died in 1865; before
● 173 him there were, according to various accounts, from thirty-
175 three to thirty-eight holders of this august title. Edward
643 Tregear, on page 670 of his Maori-Polynesian Comparative
Dictionary, prints a list of thirty-four Tui Tonga, excluding the first name, Kohai, who belongs to an earlier regime. Mr. Tregear's authority is the late Rev. Dr. Moulton, whose opinion on all matters relating to Tonga is of the greatest weight; but a list of thirty-eight names seems to me not improbable, and this paper will assume the substantial correctness of the following list:—

1. Ahoeitu, c. 950.
2. Lolofakangalo.
3. Fanga-one-one.
4. Lihau
5. Kofutu.
6. Kaloa.
7. Mauhau.
8. Apuanea.
9. Afulunga.
10. Momo.
11. Tui-ta-tui, c. 1200.
12. Talaatama.
13. Tui-tonga-nui.
14. Tala-i-haa-pepe.
15. Talakai-faiki, c. 1250.
16. Tala-fabite.
17. Tui-tonga-maakatoe.
18. Tuitonga-puipui.
19. Havea I.
20. Tatafu-eiki-mei-mua.
21. Lomi-ae-tupua.
22. Havea II.
23. Takalaua, c. 1450.
24. Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai, c. 1470.
25. Vaka-fuhu.
26. Puipui-fatu.
27. Kau-ulu-fonua II.
28. Tapuoji.
29. Uluaki-mata I (Telea).
30. Fatafehi, 1643.
31. Uluaki-mata II.
32. Tuipulotu I.
33. Fakanaanaa.
34. Tuipulotu II.
35. Pau 1777 (met Cook).
36. Mau-lupe-kotofa.
37. Fatafehi Fua-nunui-ava.
38. Laufilitonga, died 1865.

[p. 166]

This list differs from Dr. Moulton's in regarding as 173
indicating separate individuals several names which he re- 175
gards as alternative designations of the one king. It is
the list favoured by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, 643
having secured the last Tui Tonga as a convert, were prob- 127
ably in a better position to obtain information about this [797]
ancient line than were their Methodist contemporaries.

It agrees in the number of generations, though not in all details, with a list published by the late King of Tonga, George Tubou II.[1] It is also, I believe, the list favoured by Mr. E. W. Gifford, who visited Tonga in connection with the Bayard Dominick expeditions of the Bishop Museum, and to whom I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my obligations in this and in other matters. It agrees sufficiently closely, moreover, with what seems to be the most generally accepted number of generations in the Malietoa line in Samoa, which provides one of the most important external points of contact.

CHRONOLOGY.

Several dates are known with precision. Laufilitonga 175
closed the series in 1865. In 1777 Captain Cook met Pau, 643
whom he estimated to be about 40 years old. Pau is the
thirty-fifth, Laufilitonga the thirty-eighth, and consequently 179
the reigns of four kings covered something over 88 years, and the average reign cannot be less than 22 years. Captain Cook enables us also to fix with a fair degree of probability the date of an earlier king. He found that the remembrance of Tasman's visit in 1643 was still preserved, and was informed that Pau, or Paulaho, was the fifth king since Tasman's arrival. Cook calls the kings the Futtafaihe (now spelt Fatafehi), and says: "The Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships... by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to

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[1] In the March, 1916, number of "Koe Fanogonogo," a little paper published by the Methodist Mission, which survived only a few issues. [113]

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being
an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships."[2]

643 This statement, apart from chronological considerations,
173 lends some support to the supposition that the Tui Tonga
at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 was Fatafehi, and the same result is reached by counting back from Pau as the fifth king since that event. Fatafehi was an old man at the time of Tasman's visit, and presumably near the close of his life. From 1643 to 1777 there were five kings, including Pau, still in the prime of life. For this period, therefore, we get the high average of not less than 27 years for each reign. The result is the same if we reckon 1643 as approximately the year in which Uluakimata II., Fatafehi's successor, began to reign, and take the average for the eight kings down to, and including, Laufilitonga.[3]

In some lists there is included a name Tapuoji after
Fatafehi, and if this be correct Tapuoji would be Tui Tonga
[644] at the time of Tasman's visit. That there was a high chief
named Tapuoji living in Tonga at this time is very probable, but I am of opinion that he was not the Tui Tonga, but a Fijian, the Tui Lakepa, married to the Female Tui Tonga, the Tui Tonga Fefine, and the progenitor of the lofty lineage of the Tama-ha (Sacred Child).

Another piece of chronological evidence is the association of Tala-kai-faiki, fifteenth on the list, with the conquest of Samoa, and his subsequent defeat at the hands of the first chiefs to bear the title of Malietoa. Concerning this war Tongan tradition is curiously silent. Repeated inquiries have evoked no glimmer of remembrance. Samoan tradition, on the contrary, is full and circumstantial. Dr. Augustin Krämer compares Samoan tradition of this war with German recollection of the French war under Melac, or the Thirty Years war.[4]

The genealogy of the Malietoa line approximately dates this important event, and writers on Samoa seem agreed in assigning it to about the year 1250.[5]

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[113] [2] The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the Word (John Tallis and Company, London and New York), Vol. II., p. 157.

[3] Compare Basil Thomson, Diversions of a Prime Minister, p. 306.

[113] [4] Die Samoa-Inseln I. Band, p. 259 (Stuttgart 1902).

[5] See A. Kramer, op. cit. I. Band, p. 254, S. Ella, J.P.S., Vol. VII., pp. 231-234.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fatafehi, the thirtieth king, an old man in 1643, is the 175
fifteenth after Talakaifaiki, who flourished about 1250. Be- 643
tween the two dates is a period of 393 years, and thus an 173
average reign of about 25 years is indicated.

Taking the three intervals thus dated by external evidence we seem to be justified in allowing 25 years for each Tui Tonga. This average is very high, and there is tradition, moreover, to the effect that the kings were frequently assassinated in the earlier period by aspirants to the throne, and there are exceptions to the general rule that the succession was from father to son. The dated periods, however, are sufficiently long to include, and allow for, some departures from the normal, and in the absence of definite evidence sufficient to warrant a shorter period being assumed, I accept provisionally 25 years as representing the average length of the reign of a Tui Tonga.

The beginning of the line, then, would be in the tenth century, say about 950. Bishop Blanc (P. Soane Malia), in his *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique,* assumes the tenth century as a starting point for the Tui Tonga line, though he does not state his grounds.[6]

EARLY KINGS.

The first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, was the son of Eitumatu- 773
pua, the Lord of Heaven, and a mortal woman. Heaven was 643
not very distant, and the divine lover could visit his earthly
bride by descending a great tree, standing on the island of
Ata, whose head pierced the sky.

The names Ahoeitu, and Eitumatupua, both contain the [551]
word *eitu* god, spirit; and Eitumatupua contains also the
word *tupua,* which is of kindred meaning,[7] but in spite of
mythological elements in the tradition of the beginning of
the kingship, the broad fact of a new dynasty having
established itself during the tenth century is probably his-
torical. Tradition speaks of a period before Ahoeitu, when 773
Tonga was peopled from a worm bred in the decayed root
of a creeper, planted by one of the Tangaloa, Lords of
Heaven. Then follows the visit of the Maui, who brought

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[6] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, p. 87 (Em- [113]
manuel Vitte, Lyon, Paris, 1910).

[7] A. M. Hocart, Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific, [113]
American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1915, p. 638.

quite possible. The predominating influence was, for a time, 175 Manu'a, itself, perhaps, the seat of recently arrived, powerful 643 invaders, but Polynesians like the people they found. After a period of movement and readjustment more compact political groups emerge, and to the south-west power passes chiefly into the hands of the kings of the Tonga tribe, the Tui Tonga, who possibly had not long arrived from Samoa. The authority of the Tui Tonga was perhaps confined at first to the whole, or part, of the present Tongatabu, but was rapidly extended over kindred tribes in the adjoining islands. Although it seems fair to assume that the Tui Tonga was firmly established on his throne by the tenth century, the extent of his domains fluctuated, and his active interference in the affairs of his more distant possessions was probably not great, overlordship being sufficiently recognised by tribute, and especially by the *Inaji* or *Polopolo*, the first-fruits, whose presentation was of religious import, and by the performance of tasks at the behest of the king. Obviously the character of the king, and the circumstance of peace or war, would have a vital influence on the amount of local independence enjoyed by the various units of the island kingdom.

MONUMENTS AT HEKETA.

The seat of these ancient kings was at Heketa,[12] in the extreme eastern end of Tongatabu. Their lot was not always an enviable one. The throne was sometimes snatched by the hand of the assassin.[13]

TUI-TA-TUI.

Little is preserved about the Tui Tonga until we come to 173 Tui-ta-tui, in the thirteenth century; round whom cluster a 643 number of traditions. A trait of his personal appearance is 773 related. So massive was his head that by this feature the stranger might recognise him. Floating stories tend to become attached to well-known names, and scanty as are the legends associated with Tui-ta-tui, some, perhaps, do not

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[12] Near by is a place named Haa-Mene-uli, a name which attracted the attention of the late President of the Polynesian Society, but about which, unfortunately, very little information was obtainable.

[13] Although little is known with certainty about the early kings, and the manner of their death, yet the tradition that they were frequently assassinated recalls the slaying of Sacred Kings treated by Sir James Frazer in the "Golden Bough."

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

173 rightly belong to him. There can be little doubt, however,
that he was an exceptionally strong and able king. His
643 name may be translated King-strike-knee, and so in fact it
773 is commonly explained. Tradition asserts that, sitting with his back to a rock, he struck out right and left with a long staff, and so cleared a space about himself within which he allowed none to enter. Thus he safeguarded himself against the blow of the murderer. Even if the explanation of the name be entirely fictitious, it seems fair to infer that whatever dangers threatened from internal disorder were overcome, and that his prowess and sagacity secured both his own personal safety, and the peace of his kingdom.

THE HAAMONGA.

If tradition is to be trusted the period must have been
173 one of real power and prosperity, for towards the close of
643 Tui-ta-tui's reign the determination was taken to build an
349 imperishable monument. The famous trilithon in eastern Tongatabu was the fruit of this ambitious decision. The completion of this structure is by some accounts assigned to Tui-ta-tui's sons The trilithon is even more imposing on close inspection than to the casual view, for all about the base it is strengthened by a bed of stones, probably pieces chipped off in working the great uprights and cross-piece. It is probable that the cross-piece was lifted into position by being dragged up an inclined plane of soil heaped between the uprights. If our assumptions as to chronology, and the general reliability of tradition be correct, this monument, commonly known as the Haamonga or, more fully, Haamonga-a-Maui (Burden carried on the shoulder of Maui), dates from the thirteenth century. The only purpose assigned to it by legend is to be an undying monument, something to see. If that be really its object the question of what inspired its form is still unsolved. Two uprights with a festoon of leaf girdles suspended between them are not uncommon on newly-made graves. All that tradition has to say upon the subject seems to be summed up in this passage from a Tongan manuscript, written in 1870: "And (Tui-ta-tui) said, 'Men do your work, whilst I am still alive,'" meaning to build his burial vault, for he was old. But the men did not consent to this, and so Tui-ta-tui was buried in the earth, thrown out in digging the Haamonga. Tui-ta-tui, however, did not give up his project of building something, and they

173 agreed to build something to be called the Haamonga in
after time that should not be destroyed. In the beginning
643 of the work it was portioned out, foreign groups sharing it,
349 Rotuma, Futuna, Uvea, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu and
Samoa. Three stones were cut, two placed upright, earth
heaped up between them till it was level with their tops,
and the third pushed up, and put in place. Then the earth
was removed and used for little platforms *(sia)* where Tui-ta-tui
was buried; but the Haamonga stood for a sight."[14]

The position of the trilithon suggests a gateway to the
349 royal compound Heketa. Scattered about are relics of the
ancient kings. At one point is the *Maka Fakinanga,* a
large upright slab, which, as its name "the Stone to lean
against" implies, served as a back rest for the king when he
sat down on the little stone-faced mound in one side of which
it is set. Hard by are two stone-faced house platforms, one
of a single, and the other of three tiers. The blocks are excellently
worked, being much superior in finish to the generality
of the old Tongan stone monuments. The house which
stood on the larger of these platforms had stone posts, well
shaped, and with niches at the top to carry the roof beams.
They are there today, cast down, alas, and broken. A man
who is cultivating Heketa, and acts as a sort of caretaker
of the historic spot, says that they were intact till quite
821 recent years. Those who believe that the origin of the
trilithon is to be found in the skies may see significance
349 in the fact that the name of Orion's Belt in Samoan is
Amonga. From this slight hint it is easy to construct a
theory of a structure of religious, or astronomical, import,
perhaps due to direct Samoan influence, whose name, become
unintelligible to later centuries, was altered into an
understandable form. A theory of this sort has a certain
fascination, but I know of nothing to support it.

In regard to the general question of whence these, and
349 the other large stones used in the burial vaults of the kings,
172 *langi,* were obtained, there is no *a priori* reason why most,
if not all, should not have been cut out of the Tongan reefs.
316 They are coral limestone, and fairly large pieces are cut
from the reefs to-day for burial vaults. So far as I am
aware, however, nobody has seen places on the reefs whence

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[14] I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for a copy of this manuscript.

349 the very large stones used in the old structures have been
quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may
172 have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is sufficiently
316 strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the
stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evidence
349 of power. They were possible only to kings at whose
643 command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The
population of the islands may have been little, if any,
461 greater, than at present, but the king must have had the unquestioned
right to the labour of every man. The fragment
quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very
much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotic
773 power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two
chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone,
461 which the labourers found quite beyond their strength.
Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the darkness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficacious, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan idiom has it.

REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

173 The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change.
They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large
643 canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they
shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of
Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to
Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their
boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga
349 and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well
known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a
764 long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest
766 probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The
finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century; but its position suggests the probability that its erection belongs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

were frequently buried secretly, and not in the vault where 349
the interment ostensibly took place, so as to be secure from 764
violation by their enemies. 766

THE WOODEN KING.

Two generations after Tui-ta-tui a curious incident occurred, 173
which seemed to show a reluctance to break through
the succession of son to father. Talaatama was in reality 643
succeeded by his brother Talai-haa-pepe. The genealogies show a late example of a king succeeding to his half-brother, though evidently the later king in this case had a very much younger mother than his predecessor. When Talaatama died, however, Talai-haa-pepe took a block of wood, and installed that as Tui Tonga, the Tui-tonga-nui. The wooden king was given a wife, and in due time it was announced that she was pregnant. Later followed the sad announcement that the king was dead. His wooden majesty was buried, and Talai-haa-pepe was installed, one hazards the guess rather as the son of the wooden king, than as the brother of the last real occupant of the throne.

SAMOAN WAR—1250.

After Talai-haa-pepe reigned Tala-kai-faiki, a noted
warrior, ruthless as he was energetic and able. In the 173
thirteenth century he brought a large part of Samoa under 643
his sway, but his cruelty augmented the restiveness which 643
a spirited people always feels under the yoke of the conqueror, 648
and he was driven out by the Samoans, led by Tuna
and Fata, whose brother was the first bearer of the title of
Malietoa. The defeated king's farewell to Samoa is a [539]
model of fair and succinct treaty-making:

Noble courage, finely fought,
Not again shall I come
With strife to Samoa;
But my coming shall be
On a voyage of peace.

There is also a Samoan lament, put into the mouth of Tala-kai-faiki's mother, who supposed that her son was killed, somewhat in the spirit of portions of Deborah's Song in the fifth chapter of Judges. The silence of Tongan tradition concerning this war is not a little strange. Since the event was not favourable to Tonga, the Tongan bards may for that reason have rejected the theme. There may

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

173 be a confusion in Samoan legends resulting in the ante-
dating of later wars. The agreement of the Malietoa
643 genealogy with the position of Tala-kai-faiki in the Tui
648 Tonga list, and the fact that Samoan tradition represents
the name of the Tongan oppressor as Talaaifei'i, raise
strong presumptions in favour of the substantial accuracy
of the usual account.

BEGINNING OF THE TUI-HAA-TAKALAUA.

The next Tui Tonga of whom any considerable tradition
173 is preserved is Takalaua, whom I conjecture to have lived
643 about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. (now Sir)
Basil Thomson, who accepts fewer generations than I have
done in the list of Tui Tonga, gives a somewhat later date.[15]

Tradition relates in some detail the birth of Vae, of
peerless beauty, and of her marriage with the king, to whom
she bore several sons, including Kau-ulu-fonua, afterwards
called Fekai, fierce, and Motua-mounga. The king, Takalaua,
was murdered, and his successor, Kau-ulu-fonua, is said to
have delayed his father's obsequies till he had avenged the
[764] murder. If this be literally true it would suggest that effec-
tive means of embalming were known, as a considerable
time elapsed before the assassins were punished. The
murderers long eluded capture, and in the course of their pursuit, not only the different parts of the present Tongan group, were visited and defeated, but Samoa, Uvea, Futuna and Fiji. Different accounts do not give all the same list of conquered countries. When the murderers were captured they were taken back to Tonga, cut up to serve as the *fono*, food, distributed at a kava ceremony, presumably that in connection with the funeral rites of the dead king, who was then buried. The dismembered bodies of the assassins are said to have been burnt.

Samoan genealogies show what is perhaps a perpetuation of the name and early history of the lovely Vae. A Tui Tonga, Fa'aulu-fanua married a Samoan lady, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter named Vaetoeifanga; Vae-still-on beach. The original Vae was deserted on the small island where she was born, because her head, or face, was disfigured and resembled a pigeon's.[16]

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[15] Diversions of a Prime Minister, pp. 306 and 396.

[16] A. Krämer op. cit. Vol. I., p. 301.

173 643 After his warlike exploits Kau-ulu-fonua made certain arrangements, destined to lead ultimately to the downfall of his house. He appointed kings in the various parts of the present Tongan group and in Uvea. Especially important was his installation of his brother, Mounga-motua, as Tui Haa-Takalaua, King of the Takalaua Tribe; and the delegation to him apparently of a good deal of his own executive power. Other appointments and ordinances are credited to Kau-ulu-fonua, including regulations regarding the royal food and kava. From the orgination of the Tui Haa-takalaua is dated the gradual decline of the Tui Tonga before the power of the Tui Kano-kupolu, itself a creation of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and the ultimate abolition of this ancient title. These are not the only instances of the creation of titles of this form, but they are distinguished from others by the power and prestige they acquired.

173 643 829 [644] As a dwelling for the Tui Haa-Takalaua was allotted Fonua-motu, on the sea front adjacent to the Tui Tonga's residence; where either then or later reclamation work was effected, to which a short length of stone drain is witness.[17] A stone pier or mole was constructed running out to sea. The Tui Tonga and his people were *Kau hala uta*, "land side of the road"; whilst the *Tui Haa-Takalaua*, and later the Tui Kano-kupolu, were *Kau hala lalo*, "lower (or sea) side of the road." The dividing road probably occupied much the same site as the main road running through the village of Mua to-day.[18]

LOAU.

173 643 The revision and completion of Kau-ulu-fonua's ordinances is attributed to the shadowy Loau, who came none knows whence, but who lived in Haamea, near the site of the present Wesleyan College at Nafualu. When his work was finished he sailed away through the sky.

A brave old saga describes Loau's last voyage:— [539]

> They built them a boat in Haamea.
> In a place that was far from the ocean.
> Loau bade them freight her, and sail her,
> In the pool that was hard by his dwelling;

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[17] Mr. McKern, of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, called my attention to this.

[18] For a similar division in Samoa see A. Krämer op. cit. Vol. I., p. 229.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

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And the people obeyed, but with murmurs,
"Why comrades such toil to no purpose?"
And Loau heeds the wish of the people;
"Make ready each man for a voyage,
We'll sail to the bound'ry of ocean
And see the famed tree of Bulotu,
The speaking tree of immortals;
Let us leave our dear home-land of Tonga."
And now they bound over the billows;
"Haapai," cries the watchful-eyed sailor,
"Vavau appears with its hill-tops."
"Nay nay," quoth Loau, "the horizon
Alone is the goal of our voyage."
And onward he steers the bold vessel,
Right on through the grey-coloured waters,
And the sea that is covered with pumice,
And the sea that is slimy and horrid.
"Why, comrades your plaints and distresses?
Be men; your duty do rightly,
For death is in tears unavailing."
And their boat reached a spreading pandanus
That stood on the rim of the ocean;
And the mast was caught by the branches,
"Up now Longopoa, and thou Kae."
They sprang at the word of the captain,
Climbed into the branchy pandanus;
And their feet pressed hard on the vessel;
She bounded out from the branches,
She burst through the sky, and was hidden.

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The traditional picture of the result of Kau-ulu-fonua's regulations is that to the Tui Tonga were reserved the dignity and prestige of supreme chiefs, with the material concomitants of abundant food and fair ladies, but little work. A regime of idleness and self-indulgence weakened the fibre of the king, and even descent from the Lord of Heaven proved in the end unable to uphold a house from whom the actual control of affairs passed more and more completely. The vigorous hands which shape a country's destiny are bound, sooner or later, to seize its honours also. But from Kau-ulu-fonua to the final catastrophe is a span of more than three centuries.

TUI TONGA FEFINE.

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At this point a slight digression is necessary. The Tongan justly prides himself on the position of his women. The social rank and actual influence of women are very high. In accordance with the ordinary rules of the social

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

organisation, the sister of the Tui Tonga is of superior rank 644
to the king himself. She is called the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and would be normally the eldest daughter of the most chiefly wife of a Tui Tonga. Her dignity was held till death, so that, although I have called her the sister of the Tui Tonga, she might as a matter of fact belong to a different generation.

Of the sons of a Tui Tonga the one to succeed to the [643]
kingship would naturally be the eldest son of the highest chieftainess amongst his wives. Extant genealogies to not [173]
extend far enough to show very ancient practice. The Tui Tonga Fefine would be tabu to every Tongan man, and there is no direct evidence as to whom she actually did marry before the seventeenth century.[19]

Similarly, neither the genealogies nor tradition indicate [173]
who, in more remote times, was the lady, if any were specially reserved for the honour, who should bear a successor to the Tui Tonga. It is clear, however, that this privilege became the prerogative of the daughter of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and later passed to a newer house, that of the Tui Kano-kupolu.

It will be convenient at this point to give a list of the 173
Tui Haa-Takalaua:— 643

1. Mounga-motua (brother of Kau-ulu-fonua fekai), c. 1470.
2. Taneki-tonga.
3. Vaea-ma-toka.
4. Jiu-langa-po.
5. Vaka-lahi-mohe-uli.
6. Mounga-tonga (who was the father of Ngata, the first Tui Kano-kupolu).
7. Fotofili c. 1650.
8. Vaea.
9. Moe-aki-ola.
10. Kafoa.

There is not complete unanimity in lists of the Tui Haa- [127]
Takalaua, but the discrepancies occur in the later generations, when the importance of the house had somewhat declined.

TAPUOJI.

In the first half of the seventeenth century we find the 644
first authentic account of the marriage of a Tui Tonga Fefine, to a Fijian chief named Tapuoji, the Tui Lakepa 175

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[19] A story of Tala-kai-faiki's incest with the Tui Tonga Fefine is probably of no importance in this connection.

644 (Lakemba in Fiji). Of this marriage sprang the Tama-ha
(Sacred Child), children of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the sum-
175 mit of Tongan society. After Tapuoji the scions of two
[565] houses connected with him, the Tui Lakepa, and the Tui
Haa-Teiho, were the husbands of the female Tui Tongas,
[784] and their families the Tama-ha. Although the connection of
the Tui Lakepa and the Tui Haa-Teiho, with Fiji soon be-
[609] came remote, yet the infusion of foreign blood gave them
foreignness sufficient to release them from a tabu that would
be binding on every pure-blooded Tongan man.[20]

THE TUI KANO-KUPOLU.

643 About the year 1650 Mounga-Tonga, the Tui Haa-Taka-
laua, made his son Ngata the chief of western Tongatabu,
173 with the title of Tui Kano-kupolu. Ngata was the son of a
Samoan lady, Tohuia, the daughter of Ama of Safata. There is a little village in western Tongatabu called Kanokupolu, but the significance of the title is out of all proportion to the importance of its meaning of king of this hamlet. Tohuia, perhaps, brought great prestige with her. It is only in recent years that the express recognition of the connection of the Tui Kano-kupolu with the Tui Manu'a in Samoa has been discontinued. Kupolu is of course identical in form with Upolu, the second largest island of Samoa.

The successful inauguration of the Ngata line, with its great head, the Tui Kano-kupolu, probably signalised the bringing of western Tongatabu into more satisfactory political relations with the lords of eastern Tongatabu, the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Haa-Takalaua. The present Ata, the principal chief of the Haa Ngata, Tribe of Ngata, has told me that chiefs were sent before Ngata to Hihifo (the west), but were slain. Ngata made good his lordship over the westerners. Originally a delegate of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa-Takalaua, the Tui Kano-kupolu has ended by acquiring the recognised sovereignty of the whole group.

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[114] [20] For the migration of the Tui Lakepa to Tonga see A. M. Hocart, Early Fijians pp. 44-46 (J.R.A.I. Vol. XLIX Jan. to June, 1919). The linguistic argument on p. 46 is, perhaps, too sweeping. There are traces of the article *te* in Tongan, and it is in use in Niua Fo'ou, where also is found an exclamation *pohopoho*, which recalls the Lauan *polopolo*. The case of Niua Fo'ou, however, does not affect Mr. Hocart's argument, but suggests its close linguistic, and ethnic, affinity with Lau.

643 173 Examination of genealogies shows that Fotofili, the Tui Haa-Takalaua and half-brother of Ngata, married a daughter of the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who was probably an old man at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643, and that Fatafehi also married Fotofili's sister. About the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little earlier, would, therefore, seem to be the date of the commencement of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship.

TUI TONGA MARRIAGES.

581 643 175 [644] It has been already remarked that a daughter of the Tui Haa-Takalaua used to be chosen to bear a successor to the Tui Tonga. A few generations after the inauguration of the Tui Kanokupolu a very significant change occurs. The third Tui Kano-kupolu, Mataele Tua-piko, Mataele Crookback, contracted a marriage with the Tamaha, Tuimala, the highest lady in the land. This marriage was probably both an effect as well as a cause of greatness. It may be dated about 1700, and henceforth the decline of the Tui Haa-Takalaua is manifest, and the mothers of the Tui Tongas are the daughters of the Tui Kano-kupolu. Gradually the decline of the Tui Tonga himself becomes more apparent. Cook was a witness of the great real power exercised by other chiefs, but he saw, too, the homage paid to the Tui Tonga.

DECLINE OF TUI TONGA.

643 William Mariner, who was in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, relates an instance, not only of disregard of the Tui Tonga's temporal dignity, but of his sacred prestige also.[21]

[177 797] It is evident that by the close of the eighteenth century there was working the leaven of a rationalism, which recognised, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest. The final catastrophe was hastened and determined by the coming of the European and Christianity, but it is interesting to note that purely native forces were at work, which would probably have led, sooner or later, to revolution.

634 Finau, whom Cook met, and with whom Mariner lived, belongs to the junior branch of the Ngata tribe. He made good his claim to the sovereignty of Vavau, and bade fair

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[21] An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, by John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827, Vol. II., chapter II.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

634 to become the paramount influence in Tongan politics. Ruthless, energetic and ambitious, a notable warrior and leader of men, he failed to established himself in Tongatabu, in spite of successful raids and campaigns.

669 With the close of the eighteenth century we reach a period whose history has found European chroniclers, and of which the main events and tendencies are well known.

643 Before going further it will be well to insert a list of the Tui Kano-kupolu:—

179
1. Ngata c. 1660.
2. Ata-mata-ila.
3. Mataele Tua-piko.
4. Mataele Haamea.
5. Vuna.
6. Maafu-o-tuitonga.
7. Tupou-lahi.
8. Maea-liuaki (1777).
9. Tui-hala-fatai.
10. Tupou-lahi-sii.
11. Mumui (d. 1797).
12. Tukuaho (1797-1800).
13. Muli-ki-haamea (killed in battle 1800).
14. Tupou Moheofo (woman).
15. Maafu-o-limu-loa (not properly of the line, but held the office temporarily).
16. Tupou-malohi.
17. Tupou-toa.
18. Alea-motua (d. 1845).
19. Taufa-ahau (1845-1893). Unga, Fusi-pala (female).
20. George Taufa-ahau II. (1893-1918).
21. Salote Vei-onga (1918).

It is plain that the descent is not strictly from father to son. The succession was kept within the one family, but the heads of the clan had the power to prevent the title 669 falling into the hands of the young or incapable. At the end of the eighteenth century began a long period of unrest, which effectually prevented dignity remaining with the weak. During this period the tenure of life and office was 643 precarious, and frequently brief. Intermarriages of this line with the Tui Tonga line are common, so that although 581 the title of Tui Tonga is no longer bestowed, yet the blood of the ancient kings flows in full stream in the veins of those who have succeeded them in rule.

121 It is not my purpose to attempt here any detailed account of the last hundred years. Material dealing with the nineteenth century is fairly abundant and easily accessible. It remains but to indicate briefly the final passing of the king669 ship to the Tui Kano-kupolu. The consummation of this revolution, of which the germs have been already noted, is 177 intimately connected with the coming of the European and Christianity, and with the life work of a very remarkable 191 man, Taufaahau, baptized George. The nineteenth century

643 quently have a place in succeeding pages; and therefore it may be well to present a short outline of his history. Short it must be here; but the life of this eminent man, full of romantic incident, and greatly chequered by scenes of barbaric warfare, will, one day, be a fine study for an able biographer. Its details will be essential to any complete history, that may hereafter be written, of the rise and progress of Christianity in the Tonguese dominions.

● 173 643 Attempts have frequently been made, by Romish Priests, to question and invalidate the hereditary and titular power of King George; but his pedigree may be traced back with certainty through a period of some two hundred years or more of Tonguese history. Well established facts link his name with that borne by a long line of lordly ancestors, some of whom wielded a regal authority, similar to his own, over the entire islands included in the Friendly group. In no nation in the world is the pride of noble birth more strong than in the Friendly Islands; and although without any written genealogies, they are very careful to maintain a correct traditional knowledge of the descent of their nobility. These traditional pedigrees may be all the more safely relied upon, because of the strict separation existing between the chieftain families and the *tuas* or common people.

173 175 643 (124) It would be an unprofitable thing to string together, on our pages, the genealogical credentials of King George. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the writer has now before him a MS. compiled by a native well versed in such historical matters. It is closely written, and extends over seventy pages; and from it we gather the most indisputable evi-

dence of the present king's regal descent. In addition to this, the king himself, on one occasion when supping at the Mission House, gave the following account of his title to the sovereignty of all the islands. Having told the king that the Romish priests were anxious to advance the claims of the Tuitoga to the kingdom, and that they considered him as a mere usurper, he proceeded in substance with the subjoined statement.

It was no doubt true that, many ages since, the Tuitogans—as the name, Tonga-King, imports—were the kings of the land; but the royal blood became contaminated by the illicit connexion of one of their line with his female slaves, by whom he had several sons. When, therefore, the sons of these low-bred women came into power, they were despised by the people, and their assumption of authority led to national anarchy and oft-repeated assassination. Ultimately the right of the Tuitogans, to the exercise of supreme government, was not only annulled by conquest, but by their own abnegation of it. This they did on condition that they should enjoy certain sacred honours and immunities, in perpetuity, both from the ruling chiefs and the bulk of the people; whilst on their part they solemnly engaged never to intermeddle with the political administration of the country, or even in its civil affairs.

Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai, the last Tuitoga who was king of the land, was so disheartened in consequence of the murder of his father, Takalaua, that, after pursuing the assassins to the distant island of Uvea to no purpose, he returned to Tonga, and resigned his kingdom to his younger brother, Monga-Motua, whom he appointed Tuihaatakalaua. He,

643 in return, engaged to maintain and defend the
173 Tuitoga, for ever, in a sort of sacred or priestly state.
Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai was induced to take this step
because his brother was born of a chief woman,
and was thereby screened from popular insult.
The grandson of Monga-Motua, named Gata, succeeded
to the throne with the title of Tuikanokubolu,
which name has distinguished the sovereigns
ever since. Then followed in succession Gata;
Ata-mata-ila; Mataele-tua-biko; Mataele; Maafu-o-tuitoga;
Tubou-lahi; Tui-hala-fatai; (who was
King when Captain Cook first visited the islands;)
Maea-liuaki; Tubou-moheofo; (a female sovereign;)
Maafu-limuloa; Tubou-lahiji; Mulikihaamea; and
Mumui.

175 The son of Mumui, Tukuaho, the fourteenth in
643 succession, next ascended the throne, and was a
682 brave but exceedingly cruel man. He was the
grandfather of the present king, and was assassinated,
out of private revenge, by a chief called
[668] Tubouniua. His death became the signal for a
general struggle after power. Ulukalala (the Chief
175 Finau of Mariner's Tonga Islands) was no doubt a
634 designing, murderous rebel, who took advantage of
643 the king's death to raise himself from a second-rate
chieftainship in Haabai, to be the first in power
there, and also in Vavau. He likewise embroiled
[669] Tonga in a civil war: nor was he scrupulous as to
the means by which he gained his purposes. Finau
thus held Haabai and Vavau, for a time, under his
sway; at the same period a chief, named Takai,
643 strove to get supreme power in Tonga. In the midst
of this confusion, Tubou-Malohi, the eldest son of
Tukuaho, ascended the throne of his murdered
[669] father. His reign was very brief; for his subjects

Stretching still further to the north and east, we 131
meet with Toku, Fonua Lei, Niua Tobutabu, [103]
Boscawen's Island, and Nuia Foöu. These latter
islands have separate governors or kings, who [634]
administer affairs without any regular oversight
from the chief government in Tonga. Nevertheless,
they are thoroughly tributary, and are under [619]
the control of the Tonguese sovereigns, whenever
necessity arises, or opportunity serves, for intercommunication.

If native tradition is to be credited, the government 173
of Tonga, at one period of its history, extended 619
as far as 13° 30′ south latitude; viz., to 101
Wallis's Island, which, in the native language, is
called Uvea. Indeed, that island is said to have
been peopled from Tonga; but in what way there
is nothing to show. The obvious similarity of [174]
language seems to justify this tradition; even
although great, and apparently arbitrary, changes
have been made in the meaning and use of words
common to the vocabularies of both. At present 619
Uvea is within the range of the Friendly Islands 101
District Missionary operations; but it does not, in
any way, acknowledge the supremacy of Tonga, and
therefore we do not regard it as forming any portion
of King George's dominions.

Within the comparatively circumscribed limits 133
here traced upon the bosom of the Pacific, we possess
numerous and diversified examples of its peculiar
insular system. We have, in the Friendly group,
islands of varied dimensions, and in every stage of
development, from the isolated coral block, rising
abruptly in mid ocean, to form, most likely, in
process of time, the nucleus of a future island, to
the most perfectly developed and primitive of the

133 Near the north-western extremity of this island
133 there is a natural cavern, the only entrance to
which is considerably under water, even at the
lowest ebb of the tide. I believe this cave to be
133 the same of which the late Mr. Marriner speaks in
114 his "Tonga Islands," and which he states is
situated on the western coast of Huga. The mistake,
as to the locality, might easily be made
through a lapse of memory, and owing to the proximity
of these two islands to each other. At all
[173] events, a traditionary history of the hidden cave
at Niuababu is given, which corresponds substantially
with the account of that said to be at
Huga.

173 A certain chief, having become obnoxious to the
669 King of Vavau, was condemned to be taken out to
sea and drowned, while his family and immediate
133 relatives were ordered to be massacred. A young
chief, who had long loved the daughter of the condemned man, hearing of the king's purpose, hit upon a very singular scheme by which he at once saved the life of his beloved, and secured her for his bride. While pursuing his avocation of fishing, he one day came suddenly upon a turtle sleeping on the surface of the sea, close under the cliffs of Niuababu. Alarmed by the approach of the canoe, the turtle darted under water; but the young chief, determined on its capture, dived also, and, following hard after the creature, was led into the submarine entrance through which the turtle darted into a large cavern above, where the brave pursuer managed to secure his prize. Although much astonished by the discovery, he kept the affair a profound secret. But now that the object of his long-cherished affection was in danger, he thought

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

this secret cavern would afford a safe asylum from 173
her cruel enemies. Accordingly, he flew to her 669
abode, and offered, under the favouring darkness, 133
to become her deliverer, if she would only trust to his honour, and escape with him to the hidden cave. She at length consented, and, following his directions, she dived after him and rose within the strange place, where she remained concealed for a length of time. Here she was tended and frequently visited by her enthusiastic admirer, until a fitting opportunity came for restoring her to the light of day, and making her his wife. Whatever may be said of 133
the tradition, of the existence of the cave there can be no doubt. Jone Faubula, one of my own boat's crew, had once performed the feat of entering it, but could give no particular description of the interior, owing to the prevailing darkness.

Lord Byron has wrought up this native tradition, together with some incidents connected with the mutiny of the "Bounty," into one of his least offensive, and perhaps least effective, poetical romances, entitled "The Island." If we may judge of the interior of the cavern at Niuababu, by the appearances presented in another, on the adjoining island of Falevai, then the description given by the poet will not be an exaggerated one:—

> "Deep,—deeper for an instant Neuha led
> The way, then upward soared—and as she spread
> Her arms, and flung the foam from off her locks,
> Laughed, and the sound was answered by the rocks.
> They had gained a central realm of earth again;
> But look'd for tree and field, and sky, in vain.
> Around she pointed to a spacious cave
> Whose only portal was the keyless wave.

* * * * *

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

The address which he 643
delivered was a long and telling one, in which he 668
sketched the past history of the country, and dwelt 669
particularly upon the succession and deeds of his 173
own royal ancestors. Many of the natives them- [814]
selves had never heard, till then, such a connected
narrative of the events of bygone ages, the traditionary knowledge of which was carefully confined to a very select number.

For some time after this nothing happened to 643
disturb the peace of the country, or to hinder 668
the steady prosecution of Missionary work; but the 669
following extract from our journal will show that discontent, if not a disposition for actual rebellion against King George's authority, still lurked among the Vavauans.

March 20th, 1849.—A fleet of canoes arrived 643
a few days ago, escorting King George hither. 669
We hear by the natives that there is considerable danger of war breaking out in Tongatabu, between the two heathen fortresses of Houma and Bea. I do not understand the precise origin of the quarrel; but it appears to be a mere struggle for ascendancy between Maafu and Vaea, the ruling chiefs of those two towns and fortresses. Haabai is at peace, and so is Vavau; but how long this may continue I do not know. But for the presence of Missionaries, and the salutary influence of religion, I am afraid there would soon be sad disturbances even here. The present formal, and formidable, visit of the king, is connected with another reported plot for his assassination, and for the purpose also of instituting an inquiry into certain seditious speeches, which some of the chiefs are reported to have made among the people, during the

CHAPTER X.

000 ORIGIN of the Polynesian nation—Ancient maritime discovery—Jewish extraction—Jewish and Tonguese customs—Sketch of Tonguese religion—Character of the Priests—Death by Sorcery—Reputed instance in Hihifo—Political constitution of Tonga—Succession and rank of chiefs—Selection and power of the kings—Land tenure—Homage paid by the lower orders—Anecdote of rival pulpits—Deliberative assemblies—War weapons and laws—Ordinary occupations—Games and amusements—Ceremonies at death, and mode of burial—State of morals—Cannibalism—Anecdote—Tonguese colony on the island of Ata.

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[173] LIKE the early history of all savage nations, where the absence of a written language necessitates an entire dependence upon the uncertain medium of oral traditions for what may be known of the past, that of the Tonguese nation is exceedingly obscure, and offers but little to reward the researches of the curious. The origin of the people is involved in the greatest uncertainty, and the comparatively reliable records of national events do not carry us further back than through a period extending over between two and three centuries.

Mr. Crawfurd, the most recent writer of note on the various questions that have been raised in relation to the Polynesian race, and whose opinions as an eminent philologist are worthy of great respect, has advanced a suggestion of no small interest in reference to this people. "Were there," says this author, "any considerable tract of fertile land, much superior to all around it, for the development of an early civilization, we should

174 language would, in the first instance, move eastward,
along the chain of islands, lying between the
10° and 15° of south latitude, over 50° of longitude,
and, eventually, to distant localities more difficult
of access."*

Considering the geographical position of Tongatabu
[173] and its contiguous dependencies; the undoubted
[161] natural superiority of the inhabitants over
those of surrounding groups; the prestige which
[203] the Tonguese name carries with it wherever it is
known in the Pacific; and, finally, the fact that
their traditions speak of a time when the population
on the main island was so dense, that a sort of
telegraphic mouth-to-mouth communication carried
tidings between the most distant points in an incredibly
short time, we might almost be inclined to
sustain Mr. Crawfurd's opinion that in these islands
the primitive germ of the Polynesian race was
located. Nothing, however, can be advanced with
certainty. That the population of these islands
[161] was at one time much greater than it is now, we
[114] have no doubt; but we think that there are no
evidences to show that it was so great as the tradition
intimates. Some also of the Tonguese songs
and traditions indicate that Samoa has been the
source from whence several of the chieftain families
have sprung, and from whence also the names of
several of the most important localities in Tonga
have been derived. This, however, should not be
allowed to prove too much. I am, indeed, inclined
to think that Samoa is much more likely to have
been peopled from Tonga, and that its subsequent

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[113] * Preliminary Dissertation to "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," by John Crawfurd, F.R.S., London, 1852, p. 253.

276 The ring is elliptical; at one end of the long diameter sits
574 the king, and at the other is the bowl in which the drink
576 is mixed, and from which it is served. On the right and
643 left of the king are his two *matapule*, whom Mr. Hocart
644 calls heralds, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki.[2] To the right of
Motu'apuaka sits Niukapu, and to the left of Lauaki is
Nuku. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Niukapu and Nuku are called
643 the *Ulutolu*, Three-head. These three are all descended in
173 parallel lines from the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, who is himself
a son of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, who was the son, by a Samoan mother, of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Ngata went from Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, to Hihifo, the western end; and Hihifo has always been the principal seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, until comparatively recently, when the capital has become Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-tonga, about 1650, who was the father of Ngata, had a younger brother Vaoloa, whose son was Nuku, the first of this line. Similarly Mo'unga-tonga's son and successor Fotofili had a brother Halakitaua, whose son was the first Niukapu. Nuku and Niukapu and their kin are also said to be the Ha'a Latuhifo.

On the right of Niukapu is Ahio, followed by other
276 574 chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. To the left of Nuku is Luani,
576 representing the Ha'a-takalaua in some way, and following
643 him are chiefs of the Ha'a Havea, Lavaka, Fie-lakepa, and
613 Tu'i-vakano. One informant assigned positions following
565 these Ha'a Havea chiefs to the Fale Fisi, whose chiefs are
the Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and Malupo. The Fale Fisi are descendants of the Fijian Tapuosi (the Tu'i Lakemba?), who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, probably in the seventeenth century.

Although Tu'i Vakano belongs to the Ha'a Havea he seems to be connected in some way with Fiji.[3]

[624] At no part of the ring do two chiefs sit together. Every chief is accompanied by his *matapule*.

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[113] [2] Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*, American Anthropologist (N.S.), Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 631-646. See also his *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, pp. 42-51.

[3] Cf. Hocart, *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, p. 44.

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or 276
his *matapule*, responds, *Fakafetai*, *Thanks*. Such a piece of 574
kava is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if 565
there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he 624
will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava*, translated to-day as oath, is said 276
to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over 574
the *kava*-bowl. 578

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the re-established harmony was the *fua-kava*, said to mean literally first-*kava*. To drink of this *kava*, and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia*, accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua, kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief 173
Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who 778
preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the 793
sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told 276
Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest 574
requested the chief to give him his *kava*, i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni*, That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be 276
made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi 574
chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, 551
and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last com- 784
ing to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright 576 753
term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and 521
the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are 565
treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed [171]
companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence
of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and 276
in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of 574
Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the 643
Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of 643
the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and
the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island [642]
kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne
by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on
European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also 643
an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently per- 644
formed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of
Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan [173]
Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan
woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning
"flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as
"Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed
with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements
have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from
the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for 643
brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of 644
runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with 276 574
such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but
good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each
man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on
the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

32: Staveley & Douglas D-4 (no date) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

BLOOD GROUPS IN TONGANS, (POLYNESIA)[1]

By J. M. STAVELEY and R. DOUGLAS

125 RESULTS OF TESTING 200 Tongans for various blood groups and abnormal haemoglobins are the subject of this report. A blood group study of this population has been reported by Kooptzoff and Walsh.[2] These workers tested 102 subjects for the A_1A_2BO, MNS and Rh systems. We have extended the blood group systems tested to include P, Lewis, Kell, Duffy, Kidd, Diego, Wright, Vel, Sutter and the serum Gm groups. Saliva was also examined for secretion of ABH and Le^a substances, and a search was made for abnormal haemoglobins.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES[3]

101 The kingdom of Tonga consists of about 200 islands in three major
groups, Tongatapu in the south, Vava'u in the north, and the Ha'apai
133 group lying between these. The islands of Vava'u are generally high and
mountainous, those of Ha'apai and Tongatapu low-lying and of coral
131 formation. The kingdom lies between 15° and 23° south and 173° and
177° west, and is free from malaria.

[361] Nuku'alofa, the capital, is on the main island of the southern group,
Tongatapu, and lies 1,100 miles north-east of Auckland. The population
161 162 of the kingdom in 1959[4] is given as 58,351, of which 56,669 are Tongans,
and 1,682 part Tongans, Europeans and others.

According to tradition, the inhabitants of Tonga came from Samoa
173 somewhere about 950 A.D.

COLLECTION OF SPECIMENS

125 With the approval of the Government of Tonga, Dr. Sione Tapa,
126 Chief Medical Officer, generously undertook the selection of the subjects
and the collection of the specimens. In this work, Dr. Sateki Tupou, Assistant Medical Officer, played a big part. From each selected person, a clotted blood specimen and blood in Alsever's solution with added antibiotics was obtained by venepuncture. The saliva specimen was obtained after the mouth had been rinsed with water, and was heated in a boiling water bath for ten minutes.

The samples from the 200 people concerned in the study were
[101] collected in batches of 50; one batch in May 1959, two during July 1959, and one in September 1959. This allowed the collection to take place just prior to the departure of a ship for New Zealand. It also allowed the testing of each batch to be completed during the week after arrival

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[122] [1] This work was carried out under a grant from the Auckland Medical Research Foundation.

[2] Kooptzoff & Walsh, 1957.

[3] Pacific Islands Year Book, 1956:109.

[4] Pacific Islands Year Book, 1959:111.

539 come together; at the second visit the different parts of the body were almost all in place, and at the third inspection the process was complete. Finally Ahoeitu was found sitting up in the bowl. When this happy consummation was announced to the lord of heaven, he had the lad brought to his house, and again summoned his sons. When all were seated in his presence he thus addressed them,—"You have been cruel to Ahoeitu, and have slain him. Therefore he shall go down to earth and be Tui Tonga, and you, murderers, shall remain here." Then brotherly affection was awakened in the youths, and they wept, knowing surely that Ahoeitu was their brother. Ahoeitu was at once prepared by his father, and went down to earth as Tui Tonga. This was the first Tui Tonga from heaven, and the post was at once transferred to him from the descendants of the Maggot. Later Ahoeitu's brothers followed him from heaven to earth. Their names were Talafale, Matakehe, Maliebo, Tui Loloko, and Tui Folaha. As they were preparing to set out for the earth Eitumatabua gave them the following instructions,--"Talafale, thou shalt not be Tui Tonga because thou didst commit murder; but go, thy name shall be Tui Faleua. Maliebo and Matakehe, you shall guard the Tui Tonga; Tui Loloko and Tui Folaha, you shall have rule. When there is a burial of the Tui Tonga you shall carry it out as though it were my own." So they went down, and did as their father 539 had bidden. The descendants of Ahoeitu are Tui Tonga to the present day. The descendants of Talafale are Tui Belehake. 173 No descendants of Matakehe are any longer known. The descendants of Maliebo are Lauaki; and the descendants of Tui Loloko still bear the name Tui Loloko.

Ahoeitu and his family are chiefly because he came down from heaven. That is why one rebukes an insolent and conceited man by saying,—"Are you then a chief? Did you come down from heaven?" The Tui Tonga is chief through and through. Chiefliness is the essence of his being. His rule extended as far as Wallis Island. Ahoeitu was succeeded by his son Lolofakangala, and so it passed from father to son in the following order; Fanga-oneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Abuanea, Afulunga, Momo, Tuita-

tui, who set up the Haamonga-a-Maui (the trilithon in the East of Tongatabu), and Talatama. Talatama would seem 539
to have left no son, as his successor was his younger brother, 173
Talaihaabebe, who, however, experienced some compunctions about breaking the usual father-to-son descent. This difficulty was overcome by interposing between the brothers Tui-tonga-nui, whose private name was Tama-tou, *i.e.* Man-of-Wood, the *tou* being the name of a tree. Tama-tou was in fact nothing but a block of *tou* wood, set up by Talaihaabebe as Tui Tonga. Tama-tou was clothed and adorned and wedded to a wife. After three years it was given out that the Tui Tonga was dead. He was duly buried, but at the same time it was announced that his wife was about to bear a child. The child ostensibly was born, and succeeded, but the real successor was Talaihaabebe. Another Tui Tonga was Talakaifaiki, who was succeeded by Talafabite and Havea (called also Tui Tonga Makave, Tui Tonga in Buibui). He was slain whilst bathing in Tolobona, the water near Alakifonua. He was struck in the waist, and his body severed. His trunk and head floated away, and was washed ashore on the beach, where the face was pecked by a *kalae* (redbill), whence the place is called Houma-kalae. When the place from which he was sprung, *i.e.* his mother's folk, knew of his mutilation, their chief, named Lufe, bade his people slay him, sever his legs from his body, and take them to complete the Tui Tonga's remains. This was done, and the Tui Tonga then buried.

After this Tui Tonga was Tatafu-eiki-mei-mua, also called Lomiae-tubua, and Havea. He was shot in the head by the Fijian Tuluvota, and died. After him came Takalaua, who married Vae. This list is not complete, but is within a period approximately datable.

E. E. Collocott.

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643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
Tonga have been preserved, and their history
643 curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians
and Merovingians in France. One of the
Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and
his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from
weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government
on his younger brother, reserving to himself
the honours and emoluments of the office.
His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon
got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga
becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations,
however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete,
and the government was handed over to another
branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of
Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives
of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative,
however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a
quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the
gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are
used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi
(vol. ii. p. 90). This part of his narrative is very perplexing,
as neither Vesson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs
knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,'
'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately
this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a
seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus
when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, *i.e.* go
all over the land looking for food. It is also used
for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an
outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common
to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in
Tongan that something which might be opened is
closed. These and other considerations lead one
to think that the Tongan language comes nearer
than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian
tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few.
There was nothing in their religion corresponding
to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
789 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would
seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and
pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was
very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate
the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
114 his statements. He even contradicts himself. The
Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of
iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries
theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything
in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in
Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's
honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually
brought in addition, and presented to the god or
his priest. One of the party would then state the
object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant
their request, or use his influence with the gods of

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

POPULATION CHANGES IN TONGA:

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND MODERN COMMENTARY

A. C. WALSH

In common with other Pacific peoples, many 161
Tongans are now finding that the attractions of the main island and capital town far outweigh the often declining attractions of the islands of their birth. Population pressure, limited or unevenly developed resources, and new demands for money have induced many Tongans to resettle where the prospects seem more tolerable. As a consequence, the demographic importance of the different islands and settlements relative to one another is changing. This much is widely known, but it is sometimes seen as a phenomenon peculiar to recent years, although evidence is available to indicate that population movement is no new thing in the Pacific.

Tongans have long been amongst the most 173
mobile of the peoples of the central Pacific. At 648
varying times in the prehistory of the area, the Tongan *tu'i tonga*[1] claimed suzerainty over and tribute from Futuna and Wallis, the Lau group, Rotuma, and parts of the main islands of Samoa
and Fiji. In the contact period over 3,000 Tongans 175
were engaged in the Fijian wars from which 648
Cakobau emerged victorious, while later others were engaged in missionary endeavours as far
away as the Solomons. This early mobility, both 505
beyond but more especially within the group, was 133
no doubt encouraged by Tonga's physical geography.[2] Its high, long western chain of volcanic

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[1] The oldest and most important of three lines of kings, a sacred kingship dating from at least the tenth century.

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their 621
catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the 226
Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka. 432

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present 622
Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. 173
There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui [843]
Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting [644]
angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a *matapule* of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*, a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before
him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this [643]
village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places
named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the [103]
confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working 622
his own *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with [511]
plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers [241]
and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is [342]
reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he [554]
announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the [796]
villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a 622
food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions 644
like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an [565]
honoured guest. [661] Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the
Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important 276
duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is 574
usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front 644
of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, 622
Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.(7) 565

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka* 622
fonua, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka 226
is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from
October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka [782]
goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

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7. This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the kava ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

114 that the aristocracy is the repository of that which is 173 565 truly Tongan. I have characterized this attitude elsewhere 829 (1974, 1976) as 'the noble view of Tongan society'. The attitude is implicit throughout Gifford's Tongan Society (1929), but it is also reflected in the work of Spillius, Bott, Kaeppler, and Urbanowicz, anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork much more recently than Gifford. The attitude is explicit in the following statement by Spillius:

> The common error made in earlier anthropological studies of Tonga has been for the anthropologist to go out to outlying villages and islands too soon, under the impression that the more remote the village, the more chance the anthropologist would have to meet the "real people", and the more traditional customs he would find. Such romantic notions can be very misleading in a society like Tonga. In Tonga, knowledge of customs and understanding of the social and political structure has always been the prerogative and the duty of the men and women of rank. Traditionally, commoners were not supposed to know about genealogies or the reasons for political decisions, and to a considerable extent this holds good today (1959b: 3).

This attitude carries an important implication for 114 565 anthropologists and for Tongans, an implication that should not go unchallenged. The implication is that there is little of ethnological interest to be learned from ordinary Tongans, and that the political activities and genealogical manipulations of the vast majority of Tongans are somehow not "really Tongan". And even if it were argued that this implication is not conveyed, the fact remains that little has been written about the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers.

existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of
political authority, whose history goes back over one 423
thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173
eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition,
consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers
(Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history,
scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power
and territorial expansion from a center on the main island
of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were
created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power.
First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around
1450, and the person occupying that title took over many
of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later,
with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title
was created, early in the seventeenth century.

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175
the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177
Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century
and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in
1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his
second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and
Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797]
missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not
until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175
669

51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested 114
to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on
Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still
feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can 114
quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted 103
as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an
example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, 103
the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the 173
vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the
putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that
they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the
[mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned 114
above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same
category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the [159]
daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of [622]
Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in [217]
the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho.
The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, 114
I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and 113
having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have
information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the
title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst [533]
his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a 114
different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might 173
mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers [428]
being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to
think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching 114
our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning 814
Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

Tupou Posesi Fanua
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

428 property dies, every thing he leaves behind him fall to the King, but that it is usual to give it to the deseased['s] eldest son, who is obliged to provide or take care of all the other children out of it. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the Son the Moment he is born, to take from the Father the homage and title.

643 One circumstance shews that the goverment is upon a pretty solid basis, as the family of the Fattafees in a direct line, have reigned for 179 one hundred and thirty five years past; for on enquiring if any memory of Tasmans ships had been preserved among them, they informed us that their ancestors had told them that two ships, ("Towacka no papalangie")[1] like ours had once been at the island, and named the place[2] but that they stayed but a few days. And by way of informing us how long it was sence, told us the Name of the Fattafee that was then King, and of those that succeeded down to the present, which is the fifth sence that period, the first being an old man at the time. For what reason I know not, but they call our Ships *Towacka no papalangie* and us *Tangata no papalangie*; that is cloth ships and cloth men.[3]

644 From what has been said of the present King, it will appear that he had the highest rank of any person in the islands, but it is not so; for *Latooleboula*, the person that was pointed out to us for King when I was here last Voyage, as also two or three women rank above him.[4] On our enquiring who these extraordinary personages were, whom they distinguish by the name, or title of [5] they told us, that the late King had a sister of equal rank and elder than himself; she had by a Fidgee man a son and two Daughters, these three as also the Mother rank above Fattafee the King, but why, we never could get any other reason than this of their pedigree.[6] The Mother

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time of Tasman. They held their lands by hereditary right, subject to the king, and from them the members of the particular chiefly lineage and their tenants derived their titles.

[1] *Ko e vaka no papa langi*, 'ships burst from the sky'—that is, ships foreign to the point of wonderment. A *papalangi* is now any white-skinned foreigner.

[2] 'named the place': i.e. the Tongans told Cook where Tasman's ships had been anchored, not (as might be thought on a hasty reading) that he had given the place a name.

[3] Foreign ships and foreign men, rather. But the Tongan also transferred the word *papalangi* to the things the foreigners brought—manufactures such as cloth or linen: hence the translations given by Cook.

[4] Latunipulu, his mother and sisters.

[5] The *Tu'i Tonga fefine* and the *Tamaha*.

[6] The 'late King', Paulaho's father, was Tu'i Pulotu II; his eldest sister, Sinaitakala III, was *Tu'i Tonga fefine*; she married the Fijian chief Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau; their elder daughter was Moungalakepa, and their son was Latunipulu. I do not know who the other daughter was. Possibly she was not Sinaitakala's daughter at all, but the daughter of Nanasipa'u, Ma'ulupekotofa's sister, and Latunipulu, who succeeded Moungalakepa officially as *Tamaha*. Loosely applied, the term *Tamaha* meant any of the offspring of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*; but it was normally the daughter who was the personage 602 appointed in form. Latunipulu was the only male *Tamaha* ever actually appointed. The reason for rank superior to the king's was simply the custom of *fahu*, which gave pre-eminence in the family to the female. Not merely was the sister *fahu*—superior in rank—to her brother, but so were her children, both male and female; and her children also were

[1777]

775 situation) and that there they live for ever, or to use their own
expression are not subject to death again and feed upon all the
[565] products of their own country with which it is plentifully stor'd. The
souls of the lower sort again undergo a sort of transmigration, or as
[825] they say is eat up by a bird call'd Lòàta[1] which walks upon their
grave for that purpose.

Their form of government is monarchical and that hereditary, as it
642 has been a long time in the present family who are call'd Futta'faihe's,
643 Poulaho being only a name added to distinguish the reigning king
from the others of his family, a circumstance practis'd by all the men
643 of consequence. They seem to reckon their long periods of time by
their reigns, for they have preservd the circumstance of Tasman
[173] having been amongst them in 1643 by that means, reckoning
Poulaho the fifth of the Futta'faihes that has govern'd the island since
that time; and describe the two ships he had, their going afterwards
to Annamocka &c in such a manner that it gives great weight to the
good authority and exactness oral tradition often preserves. We are
certain that the son succeeds the father at his decease, but it seems not
the exclusive privilege of the eldest, as we were assur'd Poulaho had
several sons besides he whom we saw so particularly distinguishd at
642 the Natche. In several respects the Government resembles the
old feudal states of Europe, where though all acknowledge the
Sovereignty of the Prince there are many who seem to excercise their
authority with no less restraint in their several provinces, and are in
some respects wholly independent unless in the single circumstance
634 of paying the homage due to the Lord of all. The island is divided
into many districts of which we have been able to procure the names
103 of above thirty[a] each of which has a chief who may be considerd as

[a] These are

Mooa (Poulaho)
Hee'heefo (Fee'nou)
Ha'hagge
Fanaa lai'oonga
A'teeho
Mele'kakke
Mattage'hai
Nafoo'aloo
Fai'geeta
Nooa laice
Fa'tafoo

Halongo'ou
Poha
Wagge'manatoo
Lollo fo'nooa
Tooa'vao
Ha'vailoo
Ootoo'laoo
Hamoo'toogoo
Falla'jeeoo
Neeoovaloo
Lollo'bango

Fanga'laipa
Halla'kaoo
Noogoo noogoo (Maree'wagee)
Hàà'toonga
Taigee'eo
Anga'hàà
A'vakka'foohoo
A'vakka'toto
Koka'longa
Noo'gooa'foffa
Matjeenee

[The greater number of these districts are easily identifiable in Gifford's *Place Names of Tonga*, and the section on land-ownership in his *Tongan Society*, pp. 171 ff., is interesting. Anderson seems to have only one slip in spelling, his 'Noo'gooa, foffa' for, presumably, Nuku'alofa.]

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[1] I cannot trace this bird. Mariner defines 'Loata' as a large black ant; an ant is *lo*.

came from the sky or from a foreign land, usually Samoa. Associated with 554
a title are the title holder, his descendants, and descendants of former 565
holders of that title. This group is known as a *ha'a*. *Ha'a* ranking must be 613
distinguished from the chief-commoner division of the society, for chiefs and commoners alike can trace their relationship to a *ha'a*. To understand this kind of rank it is necessary to understand the ranking of *ha'a* titles and the historical events that led to *ha'a* fission.

According to Tongan tradition,[18] the first Tu'i Tonga of the present 173
dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down 554
from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the
earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of 565
this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went to the 613
sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants who 643
became his *matāpule*. 'Aho'eitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about A.D. 950), and from him the present king descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from 'Aho'eitu were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated, and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 2). The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.

The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All three lines descended from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost in status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu
grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil wars. 554
The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tāufa'āhau, was baptised in the Wesleyan Church
in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I, and his wife as Sālote (Charlotte). 565
As Christianity spread, the traditional spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga 613
was undermined, and he too became a Christian, but joined the Catholic 643
Church. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu defeated 669
the Tu'i Tonga, and George I became the supreme ruler in Tonga. Under 797
his ægis, Wesleyanism became in effect a state religion. The last Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799, and the 173
last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

The story does not end here. The office holders of the two higher lines 554
were gone; their descendants, however, lived on, and their *ha'a* rank was
higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. To solve this dilemma, the 565
ranking descendants of the two lines were appointed to new chiefly titles— 613
Kalanivalu (Kalaniuvalu) and Tungi respectively. There has been frequent 643
intermarriage among the three lines to elevate the "blood" or class rank 173
of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus the present King, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, is of 581
the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line through his father, the Tu'i Kanokupolu line
through his mother's father, and the Tu'i Tonga line through his mother's

mother (see Figure 6).^A His title, however, is Tu'i Kanokupolu, which he 554 565
gained from his mother,^ Tupou III. 613

All present-day chiefs in the Kingdom trace their relationship to one or
more of these three lines, and ultimately back to 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i [643]
Tonga. According to *ha'a* fission one knows the relative status of his *ha'a* [173]
in relation to all the others. An examination of *ha'a* ranking and segmentation [616]
shows that at the highest level there is a dual division in which the Kauhala'uta outranks the Kauhalalalo.[14]

HA'A RANK AND ORIGIN—KAUHALA'UTA

554

The dual division of the society separates the Tu'i Tonga and his people, 565
Kauhala'uta, from the Ha'a Takalaua and all the lines which segmented 613
from this line which are known collectively as Kauhalalalo. 616

The Ha'a of the Kauhala'uta originated in two ways:[15]

I. The heads of the original *ha'a* came from the sky. These included: 554
   A. 'Aho'eitu (half man, half god), progenitor of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga; 565
   B. Tu'i Ha'atalafale (known as Faleua, i.e., chief of the second house; 613
      also known as Tu'i Pelehake) celestial half brother of 'Aho'eitu; 616
   C. Falefa—four ceremonial attendants, each of whom became the head 173
      of a *ha'a:*
      1. Tu'i Loloko;
      2. Tu'i Talau;
      3. Tu'i Matahau;
      4. Tu'i 'Amanave.

II. The origin of the remaining Kauhala'uta *ha'a* stem from branches descending from various Tu'i Tonga. Included here are the Sina'e and Falefisi:
   A. The original Sina'e are said to have been the earthly half brothers of 'Aho'eitu (in distinction to Tu'i Ha'atalafale, who was his celestial half brother). There are three *ha'a* which belong to the Sina'e:
      1. Sina'e Eiki (chief Sina'e);
      2. Sina'e ki Mu'a (front Sina'e);
      3. Sina'e ki Mui (back Sina'e).
   B. Falefisi originated when the sister of one of the Tu'i Tonga married a Fijian and, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the society, began a new *ha'a.*

616
Falefisi, though an offshoot of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, is considered a foreign 554
ha'a because its male progenitor came from Fiji. For purposes of social
ranking within the Tu'i Tonga "family" however, Falefisi is higher, having 565
descended from the sister of the Tu'i Tonga (sisters having higher status 613
than brothers). Thus an individual of Falefisi may be lower when it comes [612]
to *ha'a* ranking, but higher as far as *kāinga* status is concerned. As an
example, the people of the village of the Tu'i Ha'ateiho (one of the Falefisi) [535]
do not dance for the present descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but the village of the Tu'i Tonga could dance for the Tu'i Ha'ateiho, because the latter is

A [See p. 187--Analyst.]

a descendant of a sister of a former Tu'i Tonga. Dance presentation of 554
the Tu'i Tonga's village to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho acknowledges the fact that 565
the Tu'i Tonga is, in *kāinga* status, lower than the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. How- 613
ever, such an occasion concerns only Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Falefisi when 535
they interact among themselves and is no longer of society-wide concern.[16]
In any other case, villages on the Kauhala'uta side would bring their dance 612
to the Tu'i Tonga, thus activating societal ranking principles which place 616
the Tu'i Tonga at the top. Thus, though the Tu'i Ha'ateiho does not have
the societal standing of the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga still must give
kāinga ceremonial recognition to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho.

The internal ranking of the Kauhala'uta can be seen in Figure 1. 554

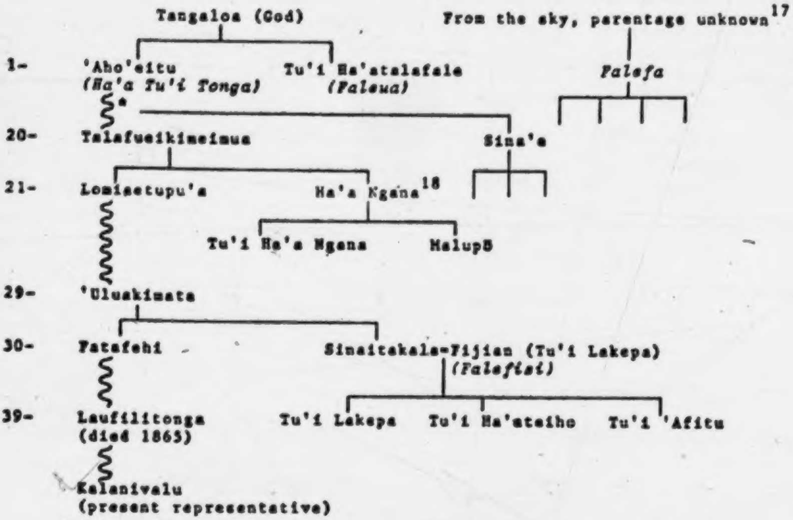
565

613

173

616

Figure 1: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Kauhala'uta


Tangaloa (God)
From the sky, parentage unknown[17]
1-
'Aho'eitu
(Ha'a Tu'i Tonga)
Tu'i Ha'atalafale
(Faleua)
Falefa
*
20-
Talafueikimeimua
Sina'e
21-
Lomiaetupu'a
Ha'a Ngana[18]
Tu'i Ha'a Ngana
Malupō
29-
'Uluakimata
30-
Fatafehi
Sinaitakala-Fijian (Tu'i Lakepa)
(Falefisi)
39-
Laufilitonga
(died 1865)
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Ha'ateiho
Tu'i 'Afitu
Kalanivalu
(present representative)

* A wavy line indicates the passage of several generations.

The highest ranking *ha'a* of the Kauhala'uta is Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, and second is Faleua, both having descended from the god Tangaloa. When the Tu'i Tonga is absent, the head of Faleua takes his place. This *ha'a* is not really subservient to Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, because it did not segment from it, and the ceremonial language reserved for the Tu'i Tonga is also used for the Tu'i Faleua. The origin of the Sina'e is not definitely known, but they are thought to be the earthly half brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, because they are associated with the matrilineal side of the Tu'i Tonga and sit on the left side of the kava circle, the left side being lower and associated with the mother. The Sina'e are not nobles, but have places as chiefs in the royal kava circle of the King.

The third chiefly *ha'a* of Kauhala'uta is Falefisi, which segmented from

Ha'a Tu'i Tonga at the time of the twenty-ninth Tu'i Tonga, 'Uluakimata. 554
Fatafehi, son of 'Uluakimata, became the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga. Sinaitakala, 565
the daughter of 'Uluakimata, married a Fijian who became the head of a 613
new *ha'a* (Falefisi). The Falefisi descent lines of Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, 616
and Tu'i 'Afitu originated from this marriage. 173

The eldest daughter (or occasionally the eldest son) of a marriage of the
Tu'i Tonga *fefine* (sister of the Tu'i Tonga) and a chief of one of the 554
Falefisi (usually Tu'i Ha'ateiho or Tu'i Lakepa) was distinguished with 643
the special title of Tamahā and had the highest social status in the land
because of her *fahu kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. She did not, 644
however, have highest societal rank. The Tamahā had the same class rank 565
as the Tu'i Tonga (*'eiki*), but lower *ha'a* rank (Falefisi). She had nothing 612
to do with ruling the land and had no standing or power in the societal 613
structure. Her descendants are lower in *ha'a* rank than the descendants of
the Tu'i Tonga. As an example let us take the installation of Tuita at a 554
royal kava ceremony during the reign of Tupou II. This is an activity that 644
involves *ha'a* rank within the whole societal structure. On this occasion 565
the highest ranking representative of the Kauhala'uta was to take a presentation 612
to the King. Tu'i Ha'ateiho tried to claim the right because the
last Tamahā came from the Tu'i Ha'ateiho line and thus outranked Sioeli 613
Pangia, who at that time represented the Tu'i Tonga. Tu'i Ha'ateiho's 616
claim was not recognized because the Tamahā was a woman and thus did
not figure in this sphere of influence (the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's *ha'a* rank being
that of Falefisi). Tu'i Ha'ateiho also tried to claim higher rank than Tu'i
Lakepa because of his Tamahā connections. His claim again was not
recognized, because Tu'i Lakepa stands as "father" to Tu'i Ha'ateiho in
the *ha'a* structure. *Ha'a* rank in this case takes precedence over social status
within the *kāinga*.

The Tamahā derived her social standing from principles of *kāinga* status. 554
The Tu'i Tonga, though chief of the highest ranking *ha'a*, had lower social 644
status within his *kāinga* then his sister, because of the principles of sibling
status. The eldest daughter of his sister was *fahu* to him. The daughter of 643
the Tu'i Tonga would be lower in *kāinga* status than the Tamahā because a 565
man's daughter is lower than he (father's side has higher status than ego), 612
and a Tu'i Tonga's daughter is *fakafotu* (female speaking, cross-sibling's 613
child) to the Tu'i Tonga *fefine* (his sister). Thus Falefisi, even though
only the third-ranking *ha'a* within the Kauhala'uta, can produce individuals [616]
who have higher status than the Tu'i Tonga within his *kāinga*.

The Kauhala'uta *ha'a* collectively outranks the Kauhalalalo *ha'a*. Only Ha'a 616
Tu'i Tonga individually outranks the various *ha'a* of Kauhalalalo. Faleua, 613
however, is considered almost its equal because of its celestial origin and of
the person who holds the title. At present this is the younger brother of the 554
king. Sometimes Tu'i Faleua is not acknowledged verbally, but what is done 565
for the King is also done for the head of Faleua. For example, at the coronation [644]
kava ceremony the King was given the first kava, directly after which a
bowl of kava was taken to the king's younger brother, without calling his [643]
name.[19]

HA'A RANK AND ORIGIN—KAUHALALALO

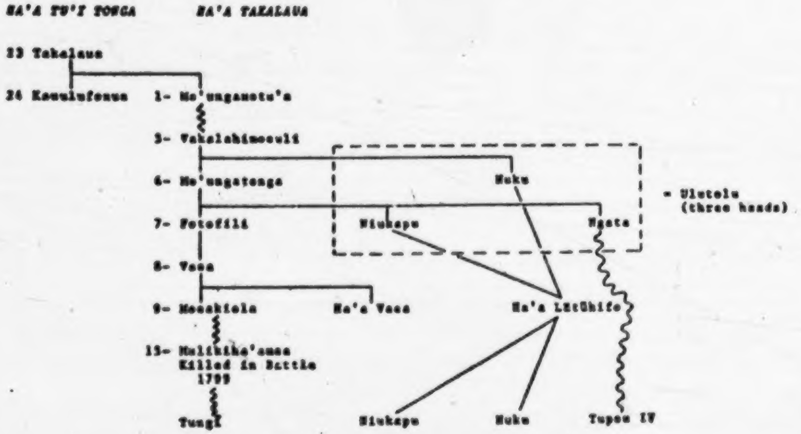
616

The Kauhalalalo division originated when the twenty-third Tu'i Tonga's 613
(Takalaua) chiefly prerogatives were divided between his eldest son, who 554
became the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, and a younger son, Mo'ungamotu'a,
who became the head of a new societal division, Ha'a Takalaua.[20] The 565
sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was the father of Fotofili (who became the 173
seventh Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua) and of Niukapu and Ngata. Niukapu, Ngata, and their uncle Nuku[21] form a subsidiary division within Kauhalalalo known as Ulu Tolu (three heads).[22] Ulu Tolu comprises two *ha'a,* Ha'a Lātūhifo and Ha'a Ngata. Ha'a Lātūhifo is again subdivided into two chiefly lines of Nuku and Niukapu. Ha'a Ngata is presently the ruling line, having gained its power by force of arms and Christianity. The head of Ha'a Ngata [643]
is Tu'i Kanokupolu,[23] i.e., King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.

One other *ha'a* associated with Ha'a Takalaua is Ha'a Vaea, whose progenitor was Vaea, the eighth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The last Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was killed in battle in 1799, and none has been appointed since that time. The present-day title, Tungi,[24] has replaced the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and is included in Ha'a Vaea: thus it is not considered higher than the Ha'a Ngata, because Ha'a Ngata descends from the sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while Ha'a Vaea descends from the eighth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The origin of the *ha'a* that segmented from the Ha'a Takalaua can be seen in Figure 2. Ha'a Vaea is not to be confused with the title Vaea, which belongs to Ha'a Havea (see Figure 4).

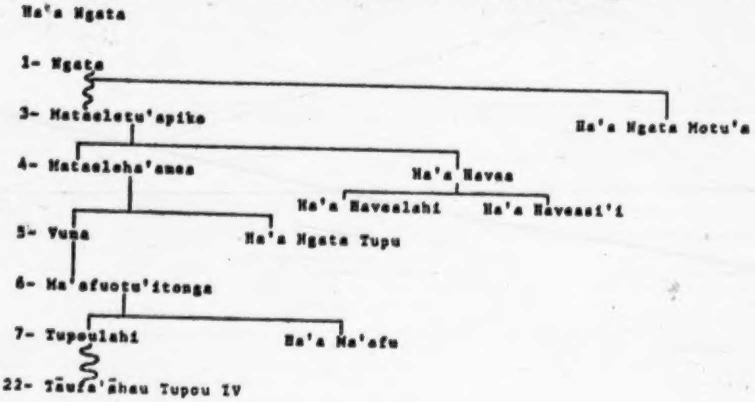
The remaining *ha'a* are offshoots of Ha'a Ngata and are lower in *ha'a* rank. Ha'a Ngata Motu'a (*motu'a*-parent) includes six main *ha'a,* five of which segmented from the Ngata line and the line of Vaha'i, which was transferred from Lātūhifo. Ha'a Havea segmented from Ha'a Ngata at the time of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ha'a Havea is subdivided into Ha'a

Figure 2: Segmentation and Ranking of Ha'a Takalaua


HA'A TU'I TONGA
HA'A TAKALAUA
23 Takalaua
24 Kauulufonua
1- Mo'ungamotu'a
3- Vakalahimoeuli
6- Mo'ungatonga
Nuku
= Ulutolu
(three heads)
7- Fotofili
Niukapu
Ngata
8- Vaea
9- Moeakiola
Ha'a Vaea
Ha'a Lātūhifo
13- Mulikiha'amea
Killed in Battle
1799
Tungi
Niukapu
Nuku
Tupou IV

Havealahi (*lahi*-large) and Ha'a Haveasi'i (*si'i*-small). Ha'a Ngata Tupu 616
segmented at the time of the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu. The final major 613
ha'a to segment was Ha'a Ma'afu, which descends from the sixth Tu'i Kan- 554
okupolu. The segmentation of the Ha'a Ngata is shown in Figure 3. 565
173

Figure 3: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Ha'a Ngata



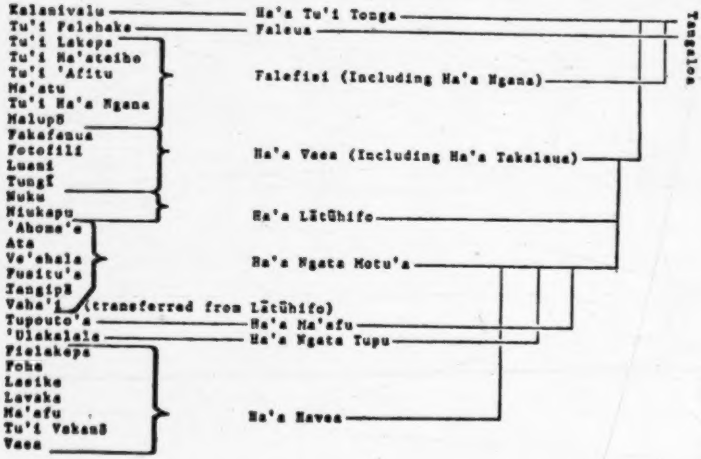
HA'A TODAY

The foregoing are the main *ha'a* which exist in Tonga today, and each 613
has a specific rank. Several chiefs may belong to each *ha'a,* each being the 554
head of a smaller societal division which originated by segmentation from 565
the main *ha'a.* From the Tongan point of view those enumerated above are the important *ha'a,* for they are the ones that are recognized in speech preludes (*fakatapu*) given at kava ceremonies on the societal level.

The *ha'a* affiliations of present-day nobles can be seen in Figure 4. The 613
King, although he is the ranking member of the Ha'a Ngata, is usually 613
distinguished in speech preludes as Ha'a Moheofo. This term originally 554
referred to the societal division which gave wives to the Tu'i Tonga. At 565
one time this was Ha'a Takalaua, but it now refers to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643
Intermarriage of the three main *ha'a* has elevated the blood ties of the line
of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, even though his *ha'a* affiliation is only with the [581]
Kauhalalalo. Those *ha'a* which are not subservient to the Tu'i Kanokupolu [612]
in societal (*ha'a*) ranking are allied by close blood ties, and obligations that come from *kāinga* status can be activated so that the Tu'i Kanokupolu is highest on all accounts.

A Tu'i Kanokupolu's son had lower *kāinga* status than his sister. The 613
social repercussions that might result in suceeding generations could be 554
prevented by cross-cousin marriage (or by marrying a foreigner, as in the 565
Tu'i Tonga line). An example of such a cross-cousin marriage can be
found in the ancestors of the present king (Figure 5).[25] This was a strategic 581
643
[612]

Figure 4: Ha'a Affiliation of Tongan Noble Titles

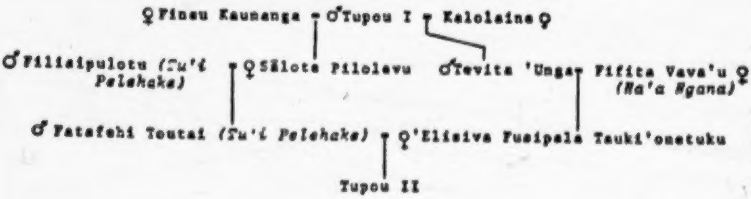

Kalanivalu
Tu'i Pelehake
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Ha'ateiho
Tu'i 'Afitu
Ma'atu
Tu'i Ha'a Ngana
Malupō
Fakafanua
Fotofili
Luani
Tungī
Nuku
Niukapu
'Ahome'e
Ata
Ve'ehala
Fusitu'a
Tangipā
Vaha'i (transferred from Lātūhifo)
Tupouto'a
'Ulakalala
Fielakepa
Fohe
Lasike
Lavaka
Ma'afu
Tu'i Vakanō
Vaea
Ha'a Tu'i Tonga
Faleua
Falefisi (Including Ha'a Ngana)
Ha'a Vaea (Including Ha'a Takalaua)
Ha'a Lātūhifo
Ha'a Ngata Motu'a
Ha'a Ma'afu
Ha'a Ngata Tupu
Ha'a Havea
Tangaloa

613
554
565

move because the descendants of Tevita 'Unga could be outranked by the 613
descendants of his sister Sālote if married to someone of a higher ranking 554
ha'a. By the marriage of the children of Tevita and Sālote no one within 565
the Tu'i Kanokupolu line could outrank the offspring of this union. Tupou 581
II married Lavinia of the Tu'i Tonga line, and their daughter, Sālote, who 643
became Tupou III, thus combined the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu
lines. Tupou III married the highest chief of Ha'a Takalaua, so that Tupou
IV combines all three important lines. Tupou IV has married Mata'aho,
who descends through her mother from the Tu'i Tonga line, and their
children are now the ranking individuals of all of the three main *ha'a*.

Today, although the myth of *ha'a* fission sanctions *ha'a* rank and holds 613
the system together, title holders of the various *ha'a* are not necessarily 554
conscripted simply by being born to the title through primogeniture and 565
patrilineal descent. Also, people associated with *ha'a* are not necessarily [611]
related by close blood ties to the title holder of the *ha'a*. For example, the [173]

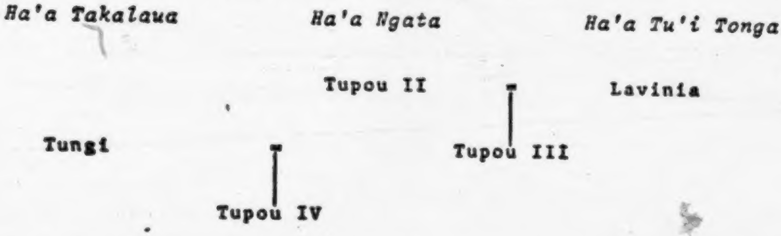
Figure 5: Cross-cousin Marriage in the Genealogy of Tupou


♀Fineu Kaunanga
♂Tupou I
Kalolaine♀
♂Filiaipulotu (Tu'i Pelehake)
♀Sālote Pilolevu
♂Tevita 'Unga
Fifita Vava'u ♀ (Ha'a Ngana)
♂Fatafehi Toutai (Tu'i Pelehake)
♀'Elisiva Fusipala Tauki'onetuku
Tupou II

613
554
565
581
643

Figure 6: Ha'a Affiliations of Tupou IV

613
554
565
643


Ha'a Takalaua
Ha'a Ngata
Ha'a Tu'i Tonga
Tupou II
=
Lavinia
Tungi
=
Tupou III
Tupou IV

613
554
565

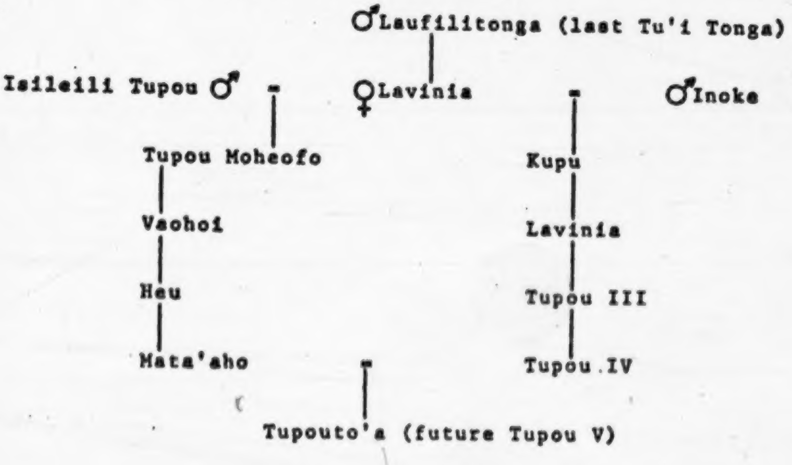
title Lavaka is now unfilled because the last Lavaka had no offspring. Many of the descendants of former holders of the title Lavaka have tried to claim the title by tracing their genealogies through both males and females. None of these claims has been acknowledged, and it is entirely up to the King to appoint a new line. When this happens, the *ha'a* associations of the Lavaka title will remain the same within the *ha'a* rank structure. Lavaka is part of Ha'a Havealahi, which originated from a younger brother of a Tu'i Kanokupolu of the Ha'a Ngata (Figure 3). The descendants of the future Lavaka will be associated with this *ha'a,* as will the descendants of the former Lavaka. Thus they will be part of the same *ha'a,* though they need not be related by close blood ties.

[173]
[611]

This myth of *ha'a* segmentation and primogeniture within the patrilineal group can also be seen in the Faleua. The originator of Faleua was the celestial half brother of the first Tu'i Tonga. The present Tu'i Faleua (Tu'i Pelehake) is the younger brother of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and inherited the title through his mother's paternal grandfather (see Figure 5). The rules of patrilineal inheritance and primogeniture may be disregarded

Figure 7: Ha'a Affiliation of Tupouto'a

613
554
565
643


♂Laufilitonga (last Tu'i Tonga)
Isileili Tupou ♂
=
♀Lavinia
=
♂Inoke
Tupou Moheofo
Kupu
Vaohoi
Lavinia
Heu
Tupou III
Mata'aho
=
Tupou IV
Tupouto'a (future Tupou V)

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation. 612 554 602

10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role. 764 574

11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 554

12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because "such things are affairs of the chiefs." 565 423

13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults. 000

14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line. 554 565 613 616 115

15. See Figure 1. 127

16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation. 554 565 613 616 612 535

17. The Falefa were the original *mätapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mätapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa. 173

18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupö, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent. 173

19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition. 643 644

20. See Figure 2.

21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states. 616

22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads. 613 554

23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa. 565 173

24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Täufa'ähau Tupou IV.

25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 613 554 565 581 582

644 special title, Tamaha. A Tamaha was often married to a Fijian, or an
554 individual of the societal division Ha'a Fale-Fisi, who although not
644 full Fijian were considered Fijian. A second way to prevent a sister's
554 children's children from outranking his own children's children, was
582 for a Tu'i to have his son marry his sister's child. Cross-cousin
609 marriage was not proscribed, prescribed, or preferred, but it was
644
554 practiced to prevent social repercussions that might result if a
582 Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line.
605

According to Tongan tradition, the first Tu'i Tonga of the
643 present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua climbed
773 down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman
173 of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was Ahoeitu. When Ahoeitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial half-brothers who became his _matāpule_, ceremonial attendants. Ahoeitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about 950) and from him the present King descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from Ahoeitu were born of the
643 daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were
173 assassinated and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the 24th Tu'i Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.

643 The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority,
179 reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title
of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All
three lines descended from Ahoeitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost status as the power of the Tu'i
[669] Kanokupolu grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil
643 wars. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Taufa'ahau, was baptised in the Wesleyan
797 Church in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I and his wife as Salote
(Charlotte). The spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga was undermined and
643 he became a Catholic. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i
669 Kanokupolu defeated the Tu'i Tonga and George I became the supreme
[795] ruler in Tonga and Wesleyanism in effect a state religion. The last
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799
and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

643 The story does not end here. The office holders of the two
554 higher lines were gone, their descendants, however, lived on and their
619 blood rank was higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i
[795] Tonga line especially was a force to be reckoned with. They were set
apart not only by higher rank by blood, but also because they followed
the Tu'i Tonga and became Catholic. New titles were created for the
chiefs of the two lines, Tungi replacing Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and
643 Kalaniuvalu replacing Tu'i Tonga. Frequent intermarriage of the three
619 lines has now made them nearly equal. Thus the present King Taufa'ahau
582
[554]

and sharpen their memories. Whenever I recorded traditions, particularly 124
tales, as many versions as possible were taken, and detailed information about each informant was kept, such as name, sex, age, position, rank and his *Ha'a* or social group membership. This information proved useful later in cross-checking the reliability of the various accounts.

I have already mentioned the great need for patience and tact in this type of work. Some of my informants, prompted perhaps partly by a desire to be regarded as *tangata 'ilo*, or by the idea of being quoted and acknowledged in the 'book', or perhaps by their fondness of hearing their voices on the tape recorder, gave long tales most of which were not worth recording. However I maintained a show of interest and listened patiently, recording what they had to say. I did this for two reasons: firstly, because they sometimes came up with something worthwhile; and secondly, if I had shown impatience or lack of interest, word might have spread and others who were perhaps better informants might become reluctant to offer information.

In Tonga no stringent measures were adopted to preserve accuracy in 173
oral traditions, and consequently they are prone to variation. In attempting 128
to arrive at the historical truth behind a number of conflicting versions I noted the points at which they differed and checked these against other evidence such as traditional sayings, place names, titles or any other information which might support one or other account. For example there is a controversy over the birthplace of King George Tupou I of Tonga. I have discussed this in detail in my thesis and I shall merely refer here to a few of the points of conflict in order to illustrate the method of cross-checking.
According to the traditions held by the people of Tongatapu and by Her 173
Majesty the late Queen Sālote, King George was born at Fualu on Tongatapu. 643
According to the traditions of the 'Uiha people of Ha'apai he was born at Lifuka in Ha'apai. Both versions agree that his mother developed a craving for human blood during her pregnancy and that this led her father, Ma'afu of Vainī, to give instructions that the infant should be killed at birth if he were a boy since he would be a danger to Tonga. In the Tongatapu version, Tāufa'āhau's mother was taken to safety by a kinsman to Kahoua, at Fualu, Tongatapu, and there gave birth to her son. The Tongatapu people argue that the name given to the infant supports their version because there is a place at Mu'a, on Tongatapu, which is called 'Āhau where the god Tāufa-i-tahi was supposed to reside, and they say this was the origin of Tāufa'āhau. However the 'Uiha people of Ha'apai say that Tāufa'āhau's mother was brought to 'Uiha. From there she was taken to a small neighbouring island where grows a certain plant with a strong

173 sickening smell called *ngahu.* She complained of being sickened by its smell
643 and from that time on the island became known as Luangahu (*lua*—sick or
vomit; hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later she was taken to another small
island where she actually became sick and this place is still known as Lauhoko,
meaning 'actually vomiting'. From there they went to yet another
island where they spent the night and this time she awoke with pains. This
island is still known as Ofolanga which means 'awaken by pains'. They
hurried back to 'Uiha but could not get there in time, so they called at
Lifuka and there, on the beach, she gave birth. This spot is called Niu'ui
(*niu*—coconut, *ui*—call) which is supposed to be due to people calling out
[124] for a coconut with which to prepare a baby food. The 'Uiha people's version
was supported by Siola'ā Soakai, a very knowledgable *matāpule* at
Pangai, Lifuka, who recalled a speech delivered by Tu'ipelehake, the grandfather
of the late Queen Sālote, at the opening of the hospital which is now
situated at Nui'ui, in which comment had been made on the appropriateness
of a hospital site built upon the very spot where Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth
[776] was buried. It is interesting to note that the Ha'apai people are also
able to account for the name Tāufa'āhau, since there was a local god named
173 Tāufa-i-tahi who lived at a place called 'Āhau on Lifuka as well. The discrepancies
[578] between these oral traditions may become a subject of heated
discussion at some of the national ceremonies when people from various
parts of Tonga congregate. As a result people of one locality are usually
aware of the existence of different versions elsewhere, even though they
may not know the details, and in any case are usually convinced that their
own version is the 'correct one'!

[121] Oral traditions can be of great value to the historian when they are used
cautiously and efforts are made to detect the sources of distortion in them.
In some instances they provided information about periods of Tongan history
173 for which no written sources existed. One of these happened to be one
669 of the most important wars in Tonga which was crucial in deciding the fate
of the two rival royal dynasties, the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.
It took place during a period when there were no Europeans such as William
Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness accounts, although it was after
these men's sojourn in Tonga. Thus the oral traditions were the only existing
173 source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826. The different
124 accounts of the war which I obtained were inevitably coloured by personal
[128] and group biases. After recording several different versions, I was faced
with the task of checking and cross-checking them in an attempt to arrive
at what I believed to be closest to the truth.

173 669 The 'Uiha people played down considerably in their version of the war

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding 669
heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors,
and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found
Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he
claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people,
were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka
had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself,
as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered 669
a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva intervened, 643
and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them 726
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance,
Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat'), 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and 643
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the 553
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a 103
noble title. 565

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few 121
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr
So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for
him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English
books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. 121
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fortress, 797
god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following 798
account in his history of Tonga: 643

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. 113

> 114 Taufaahau in 1835 commenced to preach the gospel. Although professing
> 797 Christianity, he had at no time showed forbearance in his dealings with those
> 798 who were still pagans. Through a trick he succeeded in capturing the pagan
> 643 fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vavau.[9]

The implications of this appear to be that Tāufa'āhau acted in a ruthless and inhuman fashion without considering the welfare of the people. However various oral traditions which I collected throw a different light on the episode.

173 The 'Uiha people were the last group to resist Christianity in Ha'apai.
797 Other chiefs had persuaded their people to become converted on the orders
of Tāufa'āhau, but according to traditions, the chief of 'Uiha, who was
643 named Malupō, and his sons, because they were closely related and had
798 political affiliations with Tāufa'āhau, were able to resist his wishes on matters of religion without fear of disastrous consequences. Tāufa'āhau for his part was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed reprisal as was expected by some of the 'Uiha people, but treated the whole
173 matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of
797 Vava'u it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few
of the chiefs in Vava'u concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of
643 Vava'u. Tāufa'āhau used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

According to tradition, before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. On reaching Vava'u he arranged for the people of a small village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in ambush for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha warriors arrived Tāufa'āhau informed them that the rumour of a plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his white pig to kill it as an *'oho* (provisions) for their return journey. Two or three warriors remained in their canoe while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and, of course, outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs
[539] and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When Tāufa'āhau saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying 'Toki taha a Masilamea' (Masilamea's first), which has become a common saying in Tonga ever since to refer to a rare and unexpected

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[113] [9] J. F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands. Trans. from the Tongan by C. S. Ramsay* (Vista, California, 1934). 37.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

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achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797 warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643 Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539] until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [114] and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [798] soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masilameans which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background information put the event in perspective and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and 121 critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

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A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

287 386 remove them from the shells and set them alight. The flesh of several coconuts is added to the fire and an empty kerosene can with the lid removed is hung over the flames. Black soot collects in the can, and is later scraped out and mixed with the scraped bark of the *koka* tree to make a jet-black dye.

292 585 The garments made for weddings were in two parts; the blouse or upper covering being of *feta'aki*, and the loin cloth or lower robe of *gafigafi*. At both weddings and funerals a mat (*kie*) was made from *gafigafi* leaves which had been boiled and bleached in the sun. The *gafigafi* tree is now extinct in Tonga, and has been replaced by the *fa* tree.

292 294 For dances and native festivals, a dress was made by sewing together the leaves of the *kulutumu* tree and the *limu fonua*, the latter a kind of creeping moss. Both these plants are now rare in Tongatabu, but are found in abundance on the island of Eua.

NAMING THE CAPITAL OF TONGA

103 The capital of Tonga was known originally as Kolofoou, later changed to Nukualofa by the wish of King George Tubou I and his high chiefs. The name was probably taken from that of a rock which stands on the shore at Nukunuku, directly opposite the island of Feleave. The correct name of the rock is said to be Nuualofa, (The Land of Love). It is thought that Captain Cook used this idea in naming the whole group "The Friendly Islands," or "The Islands of Love" (Otu Aga Ofa).

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(A NATIVE ACCOUNT)

173 425 A man appointed to the rank of Muliki Haamea lived on a property at Mua, just by the property Tatakamotoga and Tugis property, Vatulova. As this chief Muliki Haamea was being escorted to Hihifo to be declared Tui Haamea, he was waylaid and murdered by the chiefs of the Hihifo district, on the beach road just opposite the village of Nukunuku, and his body was taken and left on the big rock called Nukualofa. His murderers then went to Hihifo and a man named Togalava heard of what had taken place; he was living at a village called Haateiho and he begged another young man to go with him to see if there was any truth in this story that he had just heard

173 from the village of Bea. When they reached Bea they found that the
425 report was only too true; Muliki Haamea was indeed dead.

Togalava and his friend then went in search of the murdered chief's body and they found it on the rock, Nukualofa. The murderers, before returning to Hihifo, had arrayed the body in its coronation robes, namely; the beautiful fine mats that the young chief was taking with him and that were to be worn by him when he was to be declared Tui Haamea, and to have his first kava under his new title.

On finding the body Togalava first bathed in the sea, and then sprang on to the rock and took all the mats off the dead body, and handed them to the other young man to carry. Togalava then put the body of the dead chief over his shoulders and carried it back to the village of Haateiho, a distance of about twenty miles, from the rock where they found it. When they got to Haateiho they built a bier on which the dead chief was placed and then brought to the village of Tatakamotoga, Mua, by five strong bearers—a farther dis-
173 tance of eight miles. When they arrived at Tatakamotoga a *tolia*
425 (house in which native chiefs are laid out to await the grave or vault
764 being prepared) was built. This *tolia* was built just under the big *kau* tree on the government reserve at Tatakamotoga. The body was lying in state there while the *lagi*, known as Loamanu, was being built. It took six months to build this *lagi*. When all was ready, the funeral took place.

173 After the funeral had taken place the chiefs Maealiuaki and Fatea
425 with Tugi's chiefs [this would be Tugi I, as Tugi II is at present Prince Consort and Premier of Tonga] came to the man Togalava and said to him, "What is the value of the work which you have done for us," and Togalava replied, "Do not trouble," and they replied, "Here is the property of the late Muliki Haamea known as Toutai, and Tatai, also Toutai II. These are yours and to be your successors' properties for ever."

PLANTS USED IN THE TREATMENT OF DISEASE

824 278 **Akataha, Tava, Fekika vao.** For fever, stiffness of the jaws, or fixed eyes in children. The trunks of the three trees are scraped and their juices mixed.

757 **Akau veli.** For bee sting. The plant is rubbed over the affected part.

192 **Bata, Kanume.** For *atuga*. The trunks of the two trees are scraped to obtain the juice, which is used as a drink.

Bolo. For *fefulai* or *kulokula ohu afi*. The leaves are chewed and the juice is painted over the affected parts.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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1 Traditional Polity in Tonga

Near the centre of the 70,000,000 square miles of the Pacific 131 Ocean lies the smallest kingdom in the world, Tonga. Situated 1,100 miles north-east of New Zealand and 420 miles south-east of Fiji, it consists of more than 150 small islands which are scattered between 15° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 177° west longitude. The kingdom is divided into three main island groups, Tongatapu to the south, Ha'apai in the centre, and Vava'u to the north. The total area of the whole group is 269 square [361] miles, though only thirty-six of the islands are inhabited by the population which numbered about 90,000 in 1972, 97.5 per cent [161] of whom are native and belong to the Polynesian race. Using [162] oral traditions, particularly genealogies, ethnohistorians have concluded that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Tonga 174 arrived at the group from Samoa in A.D.950 (Gifford 1929:50; Wood 1932:6). However, recent archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that Tonga has been occupied for a much longer period and was settled probably from the north-west rather than from Samoa (see Green 1966:6-38; Groube 1971:278-316).

Long before the coming of the Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga 642 there was a highly organised socio-political system somewhat similar to that found in other Polynesian societies, based on the rule of the chiefs. However, Tonga was unique in Polynesia, and 643 in the Pacific as a whole, in that it had a traditional monarchical system under the headship of the Tu'i Tonga. In fact, the institution of Tu'i Tonga had developed through the years into something similar to the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Mikado of Japan.

Originally, the whole of Tonga was under the sovereignty of [173] the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, who began his rule in Tonga in about A.D.950, was believed to be the son of Tangaloa, the god of the sky, and an earthly mother (Gifford 1924:25, 38; Wood 1932:5) thereby encompassing in his person

643 supreme sanctity and giving his dynasty pre-eminence. Referring to the Tu'i Tonga, Williamson (1924, I:151) quoted Monfat, who used the records of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in Tonga, as saying:

> In them the civil and political power is exalted and sanctified by the divine power; wherefore their authority is boundless. They dispose of the goods, the bodies, and the consciences of their subjects, without ceremony and without rendering account to anyone. *Tuitonga* appears, and all prostrate themselves and kiss his feet . . . The Tongans refuse him nothing, exceeding his desires. If he wishes to satisfy his anger or some cruel fancy, he sends a messenger to his victim who, far from fleeing, goes to meet death. You will see fathers tie the rope round the necks of their children, whose death is demanded to prolong the life of this divinity; more than once you will see the child smile as it is being killed.

[342] [784] Cook (1809, V:428) reported that if the Tu'i Tonga entered a house belonging to a subject it became *tapu* and could never be inhabited by its owners, so there were houses specially built for his reception when travelling. [195] There was even a special 'language' to be used by those of lesser rank when they addressed or talked about the Tu'i Tonga, and similarly a language of respect was used in addressing or talking about other chiefs.

643 173 The Tu'i Tonga was both the temporal and spiritual ruler, at least until the fifteenth century. While Tonga was occupied by a fairly small population, the combining of spiritual and temporal authority in the office of Tu'i Tonga appears to have worked adequately for a time. However, a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga during the fifteenth century led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, to create the new office of *hau*[1] (temporal ruler) to take over secular responsibilities while the Tu'i Tonga became *'eiki Toputapu* (sacred ruler). The new position of *hau* was given to one of Kau'ulufonua Fekai's brothers, Mo'ungamotu'a, who founded a dynasty under the title, Tu'i Ha'ataka-

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[197] [1] The term *hau* is related to the Fijian terms *sau* meaning 'prosperity, high chief, king', and *sauturaga* or 'noble king'; Capell and Lester (1946:299) conclude that the title *sau* (or *hau*) 'is shared between Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa and Tonga, with possibly an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawaii'. The date 1470 for the first *hau* dynasty is cited by Gifford (1929:83), Collocott (1924:179) and Wood (1932:11).

laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring 643
to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, 173
and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was 643
enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and 582
the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually 644
given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be in a relationship of *fahu*[2] (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption 643
that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the 423
beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights possessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition [651]
of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre- [776]

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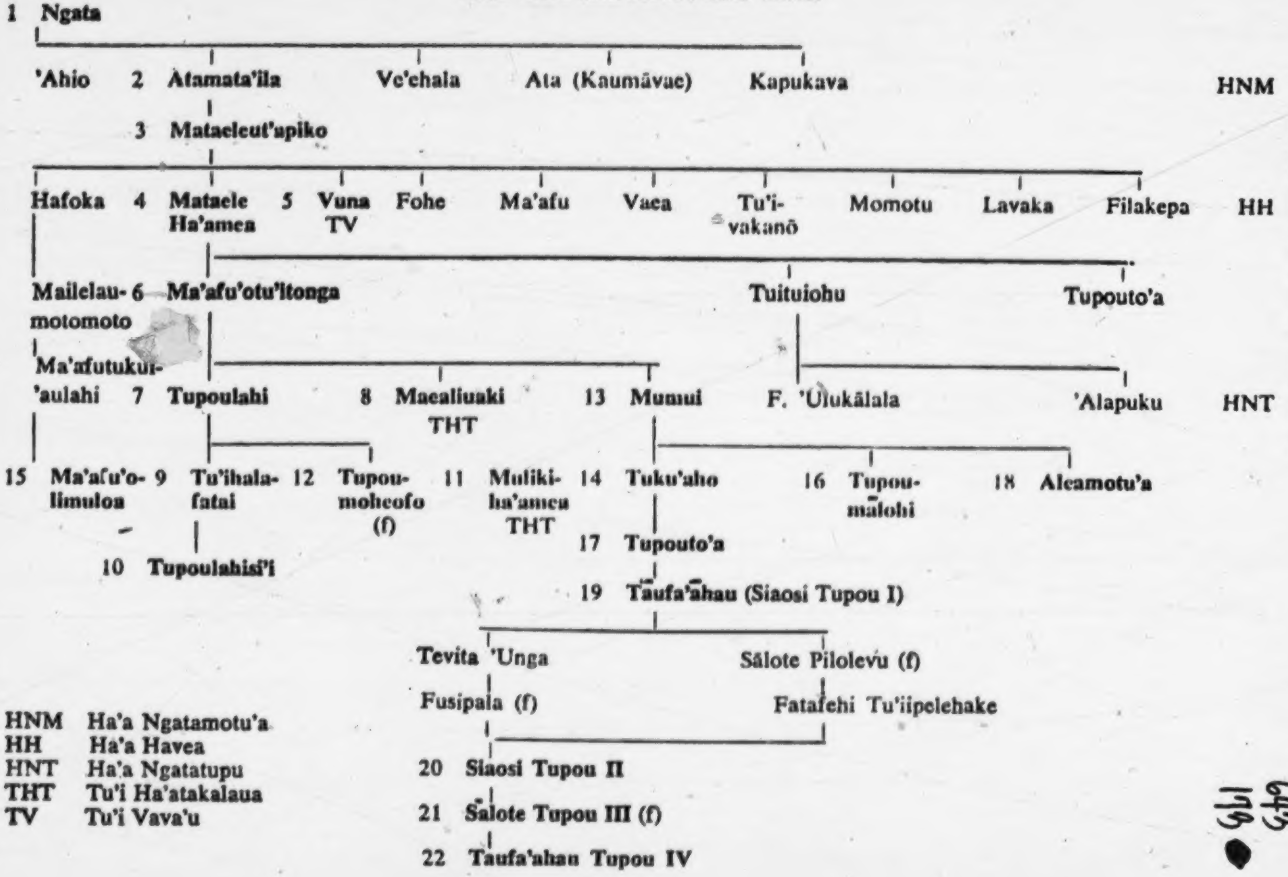
[2] The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the [604]
commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji, the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit [171]
all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into [174]
western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu* right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among [565]
commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223).

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU LINE


1 Ngata
'Ahio
2 Atamata'ila
Ve'ehala
Ata (Kaumāvae)
Kapukava
HNM
3 Mataeleut'apiko
Hafoka
4 Mataele Ha'amea
5 Vuna TV
Fohe
Ma'afu
Vaea
Tu'i-vakanō
Momotu
Lavaka
Filakepa
HH
Mailelau-motomoto
6 Ma'afu'otu'itonga
Tuituiohu
Tupouto'a
Ma'afutukui-'aulahi
7 Tupoulahi
8 Maealiuaki THT
13 Mumui
F. 'Ulukālala
'Alapuku
HNT
15 Ma'afu'o-limuloa
9 Tu'ihala-fatai
12 Tupou-moheofo (f)
11 Muliki-ha'amea THT
14 Tuku'aho
16 Tupou-mālohi
18 Aleamotu'a
10 Tupoulahisi'i
17 Tupouto'a
19 Taufa'āhau (Siaosi Tupou I)
Tevita 'Unga
Sālote Pilolevu (f)
Fusipala (f)
Fatafehi Tu'iipelehake
20 Siaosi Tupou II
21 Sālote Tupou III (f)
22 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV
HNM Ha'a Ngatamotu'a
HH Ha'a Havea
HNT Ha'a Ngatatupu
THT Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
TV Tu'i Vava'u

643
179

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

rank but had proved himself, during the intervening years, to be a man of outstanding gifts of leadership. Wilkes, in 1840, observed: 643

> He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed he was in the habit of commanding those about him. With unassuming dignity, he quietly took his seat without the hut, and as if rather preferred to be a listener than one who was to meet us in council. (Wilkes 1845:180)

Born in 1797 at a spot called Niu'ui[3] at Lifuka, Ha'apai, the [551]

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[3] According to the tradition held by Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote and the people of Tongatapu, King George was born at Lavaka's place, Kahoua, at Fualu, Tongatapu. It is said that when Houmofaleono became pregnant she developed a peculiar craving for human blood. This so alarmed her father, Ma'afu of Vainī, that he gave instructions to kill the infant at birth, if it were born a boy, for he would be a danger to Tonga. On learning of this, Lavaka (another member of the Ha'a Havea) took Houmofaleono to his *'api,* Kahoua, where she gave birth to her child. The tradition among the Ha'apai people claims that Tupouto'a, on hearing about Ma'afu's decision, sent his chief navigator from Ha'apai to fetch Houmofaleono. But before the *kalia* (double canoe) reached Lifuka, Houmofaleono began to labour. Consequently they called at the little island of Ofolanga where she gave birth to a son. (This version was obtained from Fe'iloakitau Kaho, who is a descendant of Tupouto'a's chief navigator.) 643 179

Another version, told by the 'Uiha people among whom Tupouto'a resided is that Houmofaleono was brought to 'Uiha. From there, she was taken first to one of the small neighbouring islands, where a certain plant grows called *ngahu (scaevola),* with a strong sickening smell. She soon complained that she felt sickened by this smell, and from that time on the island was called Luangahu, (*lua*—sick or vomit, hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later they called at another small island, where she really became sick, and this island is still called Luahoko (actually vomiting). From Luahoko they went to another island where they spent the night, and during the night Houmofaleono awoke with pains. Hence the name of the island, Ofolanga (*ofo*—awake, *langa*—pain). They hurried back to 'Uiha, but could not reach there in time, so they landed on the western side of Lifuka, and there near the beach she gave birth. This spot is named Niu'ui (*niu*—coconut, *ui*—call) which is supposed to be due to the people calling out to each other for a coconut with which to prepare a *namoa* (baby food made from coconut cream). I recorded this version from the 'Uiha people at a *faikava* (kava party). It was supported by Siola'ā Soakai, a very knowledgeable *matāpule* at Pangai, Lifuka. He recalled a speech, given by Tu'ipelehake, King George's grandson (and grandfather of the late Queen Sālote) which was delivered at the opening of the hospital, now 643 179 103 [853] 643 179

643 infant chief was called Ngininginiofolanga.[4] He was very sick as
[551] a child, and during a serious illness he was taken to a deity named
Tāufa'itahi at a place called 'Āhau at Lifuka.[5] He recovered from
[553] his illness and the *taula* (priest) required that his name be changed
[551] from Ngininginiofolanga to Tāufa'āhau (Tāufa of 'Āhau).

As Tāufa'āhau grew, it became apparent that nature had endowed him generously in body, mind and disposition. Physically he was big, strong, handsome and athletic. Describing King George, West (1865:61) stated that he was 'Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed'. Wilkes (1845:180) who met him in 1840 states that:

> he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face . . . .

Basil Thomson (1894:342) says of him: 'As he surpassed his fellows in stature and length of limb, so was he their superior in all sports that demand skill'.

Coupled with his magnificent physique was a mind which was alert and progressive, and was obviously ahead of its time. Another of his attributes was described by the Reverend J. Waterhouse who visited Tonga in 1841 when he wrote, 'I was greatly delighted at seeing this Christian King, . . . His words were few, but well chosen. He does not think aloud, but deliberates, and then speaks' (*W-M Mag.*, Feb. 1844:171).

His eagerness to learn and to adopt new and useful ideas later proved to his great advantage. He had a strong will which even

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[643] situated at Niu'ui, which referred to the appropriateness of a hospital
[179] being built upon the very spot where Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth was buried.

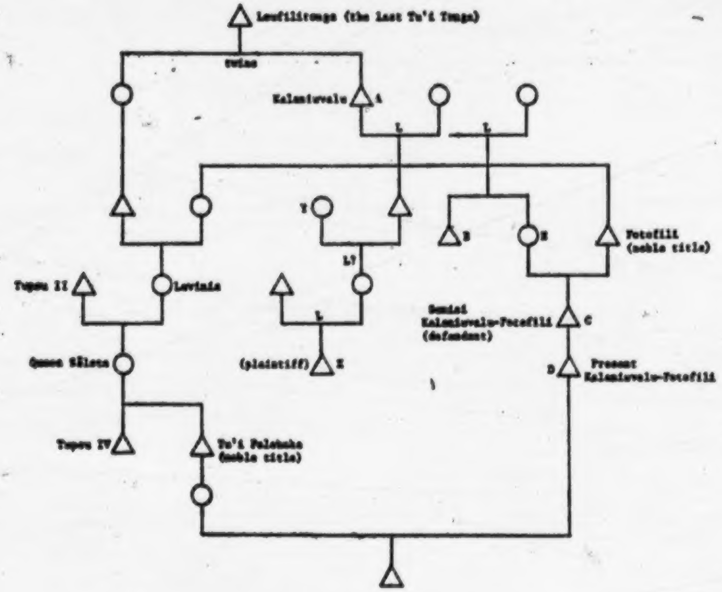
[4] According to the 'Uiha tradition the first nourishment given to the baby was the *namoa* which they made from a *nginingini* (coconut shrivelled inside) which they found in the canoe which had been brought from Ofolanga.

[179] [5] The Tongatapu version claims that the baby Nginingini Ofolanga was taken to 'Āhau at Mu'a, Tongatapu. However, there were also places known as Mu'a and 'Āhau at Lifuka and these names are still recalled by the local inhabitants. Tāufa'itahi was also the name of the deity there (Lātūkefu 1968).

holding line lost a title in a succession dispute (as in the Vakalā case), the 643
Queen continued informally to extend her favour to the losing line in preference 565
to the winning line, as if the former continued to be the true chiefly line despite 428
its loss. Alternatively, when a succession case outcome installed a line of lower 66
'eiki status than the outgoing, former holding line, the Queen might have [581]
attempted to arrange or suggest marriages for the new line which would improve [554]
its chiefly status.

Thus, the apparent strategy of the monarch was informally to offset when possible the decisions of the legal process on title succession rather than to tamper with the cases themselves. It is important to realize that all but one [581] of the cases involved gentry rather than aristocratically held titles, and as such, the cases did not seriously interfere with Royal planning or possible marriage strategies within the highest levels of the modern chiefly system. The one exception is that of Kalaniuvalu and it deserves some discussion because of the importance of this title line in the Royal Family's genealogy.

Figure 2 illustrates the major connections between the dynastic line and 643
Kalaniuvalu. It will be recalled from an earlier section that Tupou I had selected 565
428
[173]


Laufilitonga (the Last Tu'i Tonga)
twins
Kalaniuvalu
A
L
L
Y
B
E
Fotofili (noble title)
L?
Tupou II
Lavinia
L
Semisi Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili (defendant)
C
Queen Sālote
(plaintiff)
X
D
Present Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili
Tupou IV
Tu'i Pelehake (noble title)

L = legitimate

Figure 2—Genealogical background of the Kalaniuvalu succession dispute.

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society 648
missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where [797]
Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, 712
near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the
island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to [173]
Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa ;
tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war
between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some
undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a 103
hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance
of human cremation and cannibalism. 266

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanoku- 764
bolu were invested with office ; a piece of the koka tree under which these 643
kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. [764]
The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known
to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes. 136

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which 133
extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument 648
stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). [211]
Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, 502
an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at
Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa. 504

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu,
small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable 316
that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were 174
cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands
to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, 103
the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came.
Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which 133
is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and
Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most 131
of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the diffi-
culties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts 162
have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to 311
take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people 505
of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen. 226

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also
the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook 634
was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life
on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also 175
attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, 648
Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon- 172
mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of un-
known use extending through the island.

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, 764
Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga,
named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The 648
village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which
met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle
of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan 644
society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers 175
than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which 648
Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out. [312]

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and 502
at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be
approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, 311
though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful 133
northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully sit- 361
uated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least [184]
the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than [434]
in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on
European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere.
Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of 731
Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather 132
frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be 175
discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781. 648

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, 669
and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took
place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great 133
trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral 349
stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone 172
for every first-born son in the district. 173

175 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being
361 separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's
311 visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European
contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773.
Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated
with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and
set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being
systematic and in rows . . . . . Good roads, arched over
with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages."
175 (Wood, 1945:18-19). The existence of dispersed and peaceful
361 settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks
● 173 of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end
203 of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto
(making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

174 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong
642 line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu,
643 as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This
period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i
Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 930 A.D. (based on geneological
175 evidence). The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu
721 and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga,
Tu' Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a
181 peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth
[643] century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643,
"we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

TONGA

Chapter I.

TONGA IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

The Tongan people have preserved a rudimentary knowledge of their early 173
history. This was transmitted to successive generations through poems, expressed in singing and festival dancing. With pride of race and tenacious memories the Tongans were able to recall the deeds of kings and other great chiefs that were celebrated in these poems.

The first of the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, ruled about 950 A.D., and the names of all the kings in this line, thirty-eight in number, were orally recorded. For almost a thousand years Tongans served their chiefs, cultivated their soil, skilfully sailed the surrounding seas, and enjoyed the possession of their small islands undisturbed by contact with the outside world.

Tonga is the southern point of the triangle, Fiji-Samoa-Tonga. With a total 131
area of only 269 square miles, this island-cluster seems to have had a stable [161]
population of from 18,000 to 25,000 in pre-European times. The three main
sections are Tongatapu (with the capital, Nuku'alofa) in the south, Ha'apai (a
scattered group of which the main island is Lifuka), and Vava'u (with its chief
town, Neiafu) in the north. Tongatapu, or Sacred Tonga, was so called because [103]
it was regarded as the residence of the great gods.(1) The distance from Tongatapu
to Vava'u is 170 miles. The islands run in two lines. The eastern line is of 133
coral formation, nearly all being low islands. The largest island in the whole
group, Tongatapu, 99 square miles, rises to only 270 feet. The western line
consists of volcanic islands, mostly extinct and with few inhabitants now, except
the far northerly islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou.

Tongans are a branch of the light-brown Polynesian race; affinities of 144
language and similar physical characteristics show their close relationship with
Samoans, Maoris, Hawaiians, and the inhabitants of the many groups in Eastern
Polynesia. "The greatest ocean pathfinders the world has known"(2), the 174
Polynesians are believed to have come from Asia, "pushed off the mainland of
Asia".(3) Approximate dates and the paths of these migrations are still the subject
of inquiry and much debate(4).

Tongan traditions firmly place Samoa as the land from which their ancestors 173
finally migrated to their present home. These stories refer to the islands of Manu'a in the east of the Samoan group as the residence of the ancient chiefs who claimed descent from the sky-gods, the Tangaloa. Furthermore, it was from Manu'a that Maui, the mythical hero from the under-world, was said to have obtained the fish-hook with which he pulled up Tongatapu and other low islands in the Tongan group from the ocean-bed. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Ahoeitu, was

173 probably the first chief who refused to continue paying tribute to the king in Manu'a. He was said to be the son of a god, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, who came down to earth along a great tree and cohabited with a Tongatapu woman. This, with other tales, indicates a race of Proto-Polynesians already living in Tongatapu when the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, began about 950 A.D.(5).

173 648 The old tales of Tonga and Samoa agree in relating that Samoa was subject to Tongan overlordship for many years, until about 1250 A.D., when the first Samoan chief named Malietoa received that complimentary title (meaning "Congratulations on your victory") from the 15th Tu'i Tonga, Talakaifaiki, whom the Samoan chief had vanquished and driven out of his land.

It is probable that, in the period of their domination over Samoa, the Tongans were overlords also of other groups in the Central Pacific, as tales from Rotuma, Uvea, Niue, and other islands to the north indicate. The Tongans' daring voyages and far-ranging conquests made them "The Vikings of the Pacific". [181] They acquired a reputation for arrogance that has not left them in modern times.

173 349 Another distinction which ancient Tongans merited came from their skill in building monuments which stand today in eastern districts of Tongatapu. These show the prowess of the kings who were able to command the labour of the great numbers required to erect the forty-nine large terraced tombs, the Langi, and the trilithon, the Ha'amonga.(6)

173 643 The stories narrated in the Tongans' poems revolved, naturally, around their ancient kings. One of these described how, about the year 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonuafekai, handed over direct rule of the country to his brother who then began a second line of rulers, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Indolence and probably also a fear of assassination induced the Tu'i Tonga to take this action. His father, Takalaua, 23rd Tu'i Tonga, had just been murdered. Henceforth the Tu'i Tonga was satisfied to receive tribute and first-fruits given him as a religious duty at his seat at Mu'a, in eastern Tongatapu. The position of Tu'i Tonga ceased in 1865 when it was abolished by George Tupou I, Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tonga's first constitutional ruler.

The first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungamotu'a, was a brother of the Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonuafekai, who had forgone the secular position. About the year 1610 the Tu'i Ha'atakalua at that time, Mo'ungatonga, followed the same pattern of divesting himself of temporal power when he appointed his son, Ngata, to be responsible for ruling the people, with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The mother of Ngata was a Samoan lady, hence the name Kanokupolu (= "substance" of Upolu, a large island in Samoa). The last Tu'i Ha'atakalua died in 1799. Although the title itself lapsed the descendants of this line have been given the chiefly name of Tungi, prominent in modern Tongan history. [554]

The positions of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were hereditary. The Tu'i Kanokupolu was elected by the leading chiefs who generally chose the eldest son of the previous king.

175 643 [669] The third line, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, ruled Tonga in temporal affairs when Europeans, beachcombers and missionaries, came. This ruler's seat was in Hihifo, the western district of Tongatapu. His authority was not always respected by some of the chiefs, especially the Ha'a (= tribe) Havea in the central district of Tongatapu; their intermittent rebellions caused the civil wars at the turn of the 18th-19th Centuries and continued in the opposition to George Tupou I that lasted until fighting finally ceased in 1852.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, John, *History of the Friendly Islands,* p.1, A.1961. MLS. 113

(2) Luke, Sir Harry, *Islands of the South Pacific.*

(3) Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise.* p.3.

(4) W. W. Howells, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, believes that the first Polynesians came to Tonga through Micronesia about 2000 B.C. Carbon-testing by Jans Poulsen, of Denmark and the Australian National University, Canberra, indicated 500 B.C. as the date for middens he found in Tongatapu in 1965. See also Gifford, E. W., *Tongan Myths and Tales,* Bishop Museum, Honolulu, pp.8 &c., for stories common to Tonga, Indonesia and Micronesia; Gifford, *Tongan Society,* p.350, for comparison of ancient Tongan and Japanese social institutions; Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History,* Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3; Hadden, A. B. and Hornell, J., *Canoes of Oceania,* Bishop Museum, pp.339-44, regarding migration of the Polynesians through Indonesia and Micronesia; Sullivan, L. M., *A Contribution to Tongan Somatology,* Bishop Museum, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp.255-7; Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise;* and Heyerdahl, Thor, *Sea Routes to Polynesia,* for another theory of migration. [172] [174]

(5) Gifford, ibid; Collocott, ibid; *"Folk Lore,"*, Translations of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 35, No. 3, 30 September 1924, pp.279 &c.

(6) Although a tradition states that the stones were brought in a great canoe, Lomipeau, from Uvea, which is actually a volcanic island, the stones were probably obtained from the coral reefs of Tongatapu itself. The transport of the huge stones on rollers and the erection of these monuments, using only stone axes, must have been very laborious. McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga,* Bishop Museum, gives details of the tombs and the trilithon; and Collocott also. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, has shown that the markings on the cross-piece of the trilithon point in the direction of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and evidently denoted the times for yam-planting and for giving first-fruits as a sacred duty to the Tu'i Tonga. [173] [349] [821] [241] [651]

(7) For further particulars on Tongan society, see Gifford, Collocott, and Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga.*

(8) An example of this is the survival of a shipwrecked Tongan crew for 103 days in 1962 on Minerva Reef. Ruhen, Olaf, *Minerva Reef.*

(9) Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands,* p.33, A.1961. M.L.S.

(10) For further particulars of Tongan religion, see Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 12, art. "Tongans". Dr. J. E. Moulton; Mariner, W., *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, &c.,* Vol. 2, pp.132 &c.; Gifford, *Tongan Society,* pp.287-347; Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands.* A.1961, M.L.S.; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia,* pp.255 &c.; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands,* pp.125 &c.

(11) Cook, J., *Voyages of Discovery,* Everyman Edition, p.290.

(12) Zimmermann, H., *Account of Third Voyage of Captain Cook,* p.17.

(13) Cook, ibid, pp.287-8.

(14) Cook, ibid, p.265.

(15) Rabone, S., *Journal,* 27 July 1841. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(16) Langdon, Robert, *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. 1, 1966, p.186.

(17) Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1,* p.135.

(18) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.134

(19) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.132.

127 The existence of the original *Catalogue* of the Forster collection and the corresponding items in the Pitt Rivers Museum make it possible to establish for Tonga a list of 'type specimens' of known eighteenth century date, provenance, and in most cases, use. These items establish the end product of purely indigenous lines of development, as well as a base for change which came about because of European contact, making it possible to use concepts of time depth and change in studying this material culture. On the basis of these type specimens, we can identify other Tongan collections, and consequently separate Tongan materials from Tahitian, which in most collections have been hopelessly mixed. Moreover, by comparing the Pitt Rivers collection with the sister collection in Göttingen, and with information from other eighteenth century voyages, notably Cook's third voyage and those of Malaspina (1792) and d'Entrecasteaux (1793), we can build up what seems to be a fairly reliable picture of much of Tongan material culture in the eighteenth [121] century.[5] Finally, by interpreting these data in the light of ethnohistoric and ethnographic research, we can understand how these items were used and how they reflected the stratified social system of Tonga.

* * * * *

173 According to Tongan tradition, one day the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down from the sky on a great ironwood (casuarina) tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants. This
173 was the origin of Tongan social structure and rank. 'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god,
565 became the first Tu'i Tonga—the first king. His celestial half-brother, Talafale,
643 became Tu'i Faleua, i.e., head of the second house. Four others, known as the Falefa, became ceremonial attendants to the king, each with specific duties, e.g., organising the king's funeral. All these personages were socially elevated above Tongan commoners—the *tu'a*, who had descended from the worm. This myth thus provides a charter for one pattern of Tongan rank—the stratification of the society into *tu'i* (king), *'eiki* (chiefs), *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), and *tu'a* (commoners) (see Kaeppler in press).

'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god, is said to have lived over a thousand years ago (about A.D. 950) and all the chiefs of Tonga today claim descent from him through collateral segmentation. The chiefs are ranked according to the order of the
[613] splitting of their titles from the Tu'i Tonga line, and these lines (*ha'a*) are also ranked internally according to the same collateral principles.

565 The commoners are thus differentiated from the chiefs, and the chiefs are ranked in relation to each other. Each chief receives respect from his people—and he, in turn, must respect the higher ranking chiefs. At the top of this hierarchy is the
[643] Tu'i Tonga, descending in a direct line from the god Tangaloa. The thirty-sixth
[173] Tu'i Tonga was Paulaho, whom Captain Cook met on his third voyage.

The most crucial concept for any understanding of Tongan culture, in Captain Cook's time or today, is that of hierarchical ranking. All inter-personal relationships in this island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and language, food and
[175] material culture reflect this pattern. Cook and his companions did not have sufficient time or knowledge of the language to sort out the intricacies of the system

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA: SOME NEW VIEWS*

[Pre-1616)

Introduction.

In this paper we wish to supply a survey of the history of the 121
Tonga Islands. We shall concentrate mainly on the period 1770- 175
1820. Of the times previous to this period there is but little known, whereas the period after 1820 is described extensively in various writings (Farmer, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford). Therefore these parts of Tongan history will be dealt with very briefly. The time between the two dates mentioned above, however, is a confused period, in which a whole series of authorities were involved in a great number of political complications. To our mind the existing studies on this period contain various vague and contradictory notions. We believe that some of these are dealt with conclusively in this paper.

1. *The period previous to the coming of the Europeans (up to 1616).*

A great part of the history of the Tonga Islands is wrapped in 174
mystery. Oral traditions, lists of names and a few monuments are the 172
chief data one has to work on. For a few years now archaeologists [173]
have supplied us with a basis a little more reliable for this research into the past. Thus, according to Suggs (p. 87 ff.), we can take it that a short time before the beginning of our era these islands were inhabited. The same goes for the nearby Samoa Islands, and Suggs points out the fact that the development of these areas runs parallel to a great extent. We are to picture these earliest inhabitants as people living together in small groups, cultivating land in a simple way for horticultural purposes and using some earthenware (ib. p. 93). Not before the eleventh century, however, are there structures of some size to be found on Tongatapu. They consist chiefly of tombs. These have been explored and described extensively by Mc Kern. His opinion

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* The translation was made by Mr. F. L. van den Berg.

[p. 505]

[ca. 900-1470]

172 is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these
174 structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures
are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the
172 help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated
174 above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-scheme
643 of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne
the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the
174 year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average
643 reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions
39 successive rulers,[1] may have come to power in the 10th century.[2]

The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu,
● [173] is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth
(Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building
[349] of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of
three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants,
the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king
about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of
173 colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott
174 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison
648 with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck,
p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after
the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafekai, who must have ruled
174 about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have
643 important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother
178 hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the
sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that
the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).[3]
His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family),
bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

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[114] [1] We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

[114] [2] Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanokupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 11.

[3] Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

[ca. 1470 – 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua.* According to tradition the 174
reason for this change in the system of government was the violent 643
deaths of several *Tui Tonga.* In this way the ruler hoped from now on 178
to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; [173]
Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungatonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau.* Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott 1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming [175]
of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to 175
certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kano-* 643
kupolu as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are 177
no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui.* From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford [114]
places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga.* Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

137 /12 cont./

241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.

174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands. All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The
[173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the
175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of
177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time
[669] European influences (5)

5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the
[797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the
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643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as King George Tupou I. (6)

[113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

642 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives
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